



Daily Report

Soviet Union

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Daily Report

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5 September 1991

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Arms Control & Disarmament

International Monitoring of Nuclear Arms Urged

PM0309130991 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 1700 GMT 29 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast: Report over video read by announcer]

[Text] Today, the fate of Soviet nuclear forces is the focus of attention for political observers and the media. The Soviet Union possesses a massive nuclear arsenal. The country has approximately 30,000 nuclear warheads in its arsenal, and the vast majority of launchers of nuclear-equipped ballistic missiles are located on Russian Federation territory. But hundreds of missiles are located outside its borders, notably in the republics which have already declared their independence from the USSR. Given the internal instability and the accelerating disintegration process and breakup of the Union, a whole range of questions arises: Who will control this nuclear monster? Who has his finger on the launching button? In the event of USSR Armed Forces' being broken up into independent republic armies, what fate awaits the nuclear weapons? Finally, are there any security guarantees? In the opinion of USSR Presidential Adviser Yevgeniy Velikhov, the Supreme Soviet should hold an independent inquiry into the state of the Soviet nuclear arsenal. The academician suggests setting up a special international organ to monitor USSR nuclear weapons.

Army Paper Welcomes Warning Against ABM Plan

PM0409110391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 31 Aug 91 First Edition p 2

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA military observer Colonel M. Ponomarev commentary: "Arguments Worthy of Attention"]

[Text] Materials have already been published in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reporting the U.S. Senate decision concerning the deployment of a ground-based ABM defense system with the aim of defending the continental United States against a limited or unsanctioned ICBM strike. These materials have not only set out concrete facts but also contained assessments of them. However, this topic is so important that we will clearly have to address it more than once in the future.

In this connection I would draw readers' attention to an article in the influential American newspaper THE NEW YORK TIMES, which in my view is of definite interest. It is, of course, not possible to agree unreservedly with its every word. Moreover, it was printed before the recent events in the Soviet Union, therefore several of its formulations now sound anachronistic. But as a whole I think that the article reflects a correct viewpoint on the Senate decision and that the arguments in it deserve the most serious attention.

In fact, implementing the U.S. Senate decision would not strengthen but seriously weaken U.S. security, and it would not rid mankind of the danger of nuclear war but would preserve it. Indeed, neither Washington nor Moscow will be able to remain indifferent observers if the other side begins to deploy ABM defense systems over and above those allowed by the 1972 treaty. Such a deployment could actually initiate a revival of the arms race, and what is more in its most dangerous area—that of nuclear missiles. And finally, implementation of the plans approved by the senators will essentially put paid to the newly-signed Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, which has still not even been submitted for ratification either in the USSR or the United States, because the Soviet Union made the special proviso that it would only be binding as long as the ABM Treaty is observed.

The NEW YORK TIMES article is unsigned. This means that it expresses not someone's personal viewpoint but a certain system of views. It was published after the Senate decision, but before the decision has been coordinated with the House of Representatives and approved by the U.S. Congress as a whole. This is why such importance attaches to its appeal to show wisdom and to reject, before it is too late, the very idea of deploying an ABM defense system in haste and so undermining the ABM Treaty.

Worldwide Issues

Bush, Major Discuss Principles of Aid

PM0309100591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
31 Aug 91 Union Edition p 5

[Report by correspondent A. Blinov: "Principles of Aid to USSR Elaborated"]

[Text] Washington—The West's reaction to the events in the Soviet Union formed the theme of the consultations at Kennebunkport (Maine) last Wednesday between U.S. President Bush and British Prime Minister J. Major, who is presently chairman of the group of seven developed industrial countries.

In speeches at the press conference straight after the meeting, the two Western leaders were unanimous in recognizing the special importance of the changes taking place in the Soviet Union after the thwarting of the reactionary putsch. "I believe that these changes are fundamental and only time will help to give a definitive assessment of them. Each day brings new reports on this or that radical step," Bush said. Major expressed similar assessments.

Bush and Major rebutted the opinions that have appeared in the Western press to the effect that the political processes in the Soviet Union, primarily the independence declarations made by a number of republics, threaten to destroy the nuclear arms control system.

"At the moment everything is in order," Bush said. "We have an idea of the Soviet procedures. I want to assure the American people there was no time when we had grounds for concern about the possibility of the unpremeditated use of nuclear weapons or of any malfunctions.... I am sure that everyone in the republics and at the center understands that the last thing the world needs is nuclear anxiety, not to mention nuclear confrontation."

Major believes that the present problem does not give grounds for concern in the immediate future. In the longer term, however, it should be discussed with the USSR.

The United States and Britain fully support the independence of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. In Bush's words, the U.S. Administration has already informed the Soviet leadership about that. "We have called on the Soviet leadership not to stand in the way of the inevitable," the U.S. President said.

Judging by the two Western leaders' explanations, the main attention at the consultations was focused on the question of the forms and principles whereby the West will help the Soviet Union. "We, like the other Western partners, are united in our resolve to help the Soviet reforms," Bush said. He noted that the industrially developed democracies have already taken steps to aid the economic process in the USSR in accordance with the flexible program worked out at the G-7 conference in London. Now the representatives of the "Seven" are discussing subsequent steps in development of those accords.

In Major's words, the West must respond to the Soviet population's "urgent needs" and at the same time help the economic reforms in the USSR. Now, Major believes, the conditions have appeared—a "window of opportunity"—to accelerate the process of economic reforms and this is "absolutely vitally important for the Soviet Union."

"The Soviet Union and the republics primarily need urgent humanitarian aid and practical assistance in restructuring the economy to make it work," Major said. "And this means that help must be linked to a clear, comprehensive, and practical plan of reforms. It must be given to those who need it, including direct assistance to individual republics, and it must be linked to a Soviet commitment to a further reduction of defense spending."

The British Prime Minister outlined the six main areas of help to the Soviet Union in the forthcoming stage. First of all, the food credits already allocated will continue to be given. It is also proposed to assess the USSR's need for food in the approaching winter.

Together with private business it is planned to create "life-support teams," which could go to the USSR and give on-the-spot help in organizing the more efficient

production and distribution of food. Programs to provide "know how" (technology and the organization of specific production units) and bilateral agreements concluded in this sphere will be fulfilled.

The two final points relate to the role of the IMF and the World Bank. They will be enlisted in preparing practical plans for structural economic reforms in the USSR. It is deemed necessary to accelerate the granting of IMF associate membership status to the USSR with a view to accepting the Soviet Union as a full member of both international financial organizations.

It was stated at the press conference that Major will be visiting Moscow on Sunday next. He will have meetings with USSR President M.S. Gorbachev and Russian President B.N. Yeltsin and will discuss the principles and specific areas of Western aid for the Soviet economic reforms that were agreed at Kennebunkport.

G-7 Ready To Speed Up Economic Integration

LD0409141691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 1300 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] British Prime Minister John Major, who is the coordinator of the seven industrially developed states, has informed Presidents Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin that the Big Seven are ready to not only accelerate the agreement achieved in London on integration of the Soviet economy into the world system, but also to examine possible ways of expanding financial and economic help for the Soviet Union over and above that already planned.

'New Nuances' Seen in G-7 Stance on Aid

PM0309144191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
31 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[V. Mikheyev report: "Developed Countries of the West Increase Aid to USSR"]

[Text] A meeting in London of personal representatives of the leaders of the Group of Seven foremost industrialized Western powers has decided to provide urgent technical aid and send foodstuffs to the Soviet Union.

On the one hand the G-7 adopted a short-term program to regulate its own system for the delivery and distribution of foodstuffs and medicines in the Soviet Union. At the same time it is stressed that this is "to bypass the inefficient and corrupt Soviet system."

On the other hand, the long-term strategy for cooperation with the USSR formulated and approved at the July summit in London was ratified. Bear in mind that the participation of this club of rich states (the United States, Japan, Germany, France, Italy, Canada, and Britain) in the process of switching the USSR onto market economy rails will entail technical assistance, the offer of credit for purchasing food, and expert advice but no direct, large-scale, financial injections.

Once again variations on the theme of closely coordinating future G-7 involvement in perestroika with the rate and nature of political and economic reforms in the USSR and a parallel, significant reduction in military expenditure were heard at the London forum.

It is worth noting last Wednesday's truly chilly reaction by U.S. President Bush to the suggestion by Democratic Party leaders in the House of Representatives that a sum in the region of \$1 billion be deducted from the U.S. military budget so that the money could be used for "humanitarian purposes." The implication being: for aid to the Soviet Union.

In London, according to observers, new nuances have emerged in the G-7 stance, which is far from unanimous with regard to the nature (products and medicines, or serious capital investment) and rate (today or the day after tomorrow) of economic assistance for reforms in the USSR. Thus, British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd defended his idea for purchasing surplus grain from East European states and offering it to the Soviet Union under EC credits. Apart from this, the question of opening up domestic markets to Soviet products was discussed. The G-7 suggests that the EC should also take the initiative in the matter of tariff reductions.

"Capitalism's Board of Management," as the G-7 is still called, intends to smooth the process of USSR entry into the World Bank and the IMF. The USSR is expected to obtain full IMF membership earlier than planned.

A large-scale strategy for developing relations between EC states and the USSR will be outlined at a summit meeting scheduled for the middle of September. As we know, French Prime Minister Edith Cresson has proposed inviting USSR President M. Gorbachev and Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin to participate in that meeting. The proposal was discussed at the G-7 meeting. So far it has not been confirmed whether or not this invitation will be sent.

World Bank Approves \$30-Million Aid Fund

OW3008100391 Moscow INTERFAX in English
0811 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The World Bank has approved a \$30 million aid fund to assist economic restructuring by the Soviet Union and its republics. The fund will be used to pay for consultancy services in embracing reform in areas such as agriculture, power engineering, housing construction, and privatisation.

United States & Canada

Bush Remarks on Baltic Independence, Aid Cited

PM0409124791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Sep 91 Union Edition p 3

[Correspondent A. Blinov report under general headline: "United States Was 37th Country To Recognize Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian Independence"]

[Text] Washington—U.S. President Bush announced this decision in Kennebunkport (Maine) while addressing journalists on Monday, the last day of his vacation. "The Baltic peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania and their democratically elected governments have announced their independence and are taking control of their territory and their destiny. The United States has always supported the Baltic countries' independence and is now prepared to immediately establish diplomatic relations with their governments," Bush said.

The U.S. President stressed that he announced his decision after USSR President M.S. Gorbachev said in an interview with America's CNN-TV that he recognizes the three republics' secession from the USSR. In the opinion of the U.S. President, this stems from the "10 plus 1" agreement.

"Major changes are now taking place in the Soviet Union, among which is the establishment of new relations between the republics and the central government. We still have to see the final result of these changes, and meanwhile I would like to welcome President Gorbachev's support for the concept that envisages freedom for the republics in deciding their own future," Bush said.

"The new '10 plus 1' agreement," the President continued, "is eloquent evidence of that. This is a turning point in Soviet political thinking and is as important in terms of its significance as the movement toward democracy and a market economy that we are observing in the republics themselves. The United States definitely backs these efforts."

The U.S. President said that the United States is willing to help the Baltic states realize in practice their intention of becoming independent states. In particular, K. Kamman [name as transliterated], U.S. deputy assistant secretary of state, will be sent to the Baltics for contacts on this matter.

At the news conference President Bush announced concrete actions to be taken by the U.S. Administration to assist the USSR and the republics as a result of our country's economic difficulties. In particular, R. Crowder, U.S. under secretary of agriculture, will fly out to the USSR shortly. The task of the delegation of experts he heads is to determine the urgent food needs of the USSR and the individual republics.

Questions of food aid in the future will be the subject of talks to be held in the Soviet Union by a delegation of representatives of the administration and private business headed by Agriculture Secretary E. Madigan. According to the President, the U.S. Administration will also take steps to increase medical aid to the USSR in conjunction with the "Hope" charitable organization.

Baker Outlines U.S. Approach to Events

*LD0509091791 Moscow TASS in English 0836 GMT
5 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Korolev]

[Text] Washington September 5 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker on Wednesday announced he is planning to visit Moscow next week to attend the CSCE human dimension meeting and to have discussions with a number of leaders.

Addressing a news conference at the State Department, Baker noted the decision had been taken after consultations with President George Bush on "another revolution blowing with full force across the Soviet Union". "We want to see this revolution remain democratic and we want to see it remain peaceful," Baker said.

Speaking about the U.S. Administration's approach to events in the Soviet Union, Baker said: "Building democracy and free markets across the Soviet Union is not going to be an easy task after decades of totalitarianism and central planning".

"The work of freedom will be hard and the transition will be painful. The Soviet peoples have to know that they have just embarked on what will be a very difficult road, but they must know, too, that there can be no turning away from democratic principles and tolerance if they truly hope to follow that road to its end and to join the democratic commonwealth of nations. We will help them move along that path of political and economic freedom," Baker said.

"First, I will convey to Soviet leaders and to the Soviet peoples the five principles that will guide this administration's approach to political change in the Soviet Union", particularly "to the changes that are taking place in centre-republic relations", Baker said.

"The future of the Soviet Union is for the Soviet peoples to determine themselves peacefully and consistent with democratic values and practices and the principles of the Helsinki Final Act," Baker said.

"We call upon all Soviet leaders at all levels of government, including those of the republics, to show their support for these internationally accepted principles. In this process there can be no legitimate place for threats, intimidation, coercion or violence," Baker said.

The secretary of state urged them all "to respect existing borders both internal and external", democracy and the

rule of law and support peaceful change only through "orderly democratic processes, especially the processes of elections".

Baker called for "The safeguarding of human rights based on full respect for the individual and including equal treatment of minorities" and "respect for international law and obligations, especially adherence to the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and the Charter of Paris".

"One of the first and most important steps the Soviet leaders and peoples need to take is to clarify the precise interrelationships, both among the various republics and between the republics and the centre," Baker said.

Baker noted: "The Baltic states have always been and they remain, a special and separate case for the United States". The secretary determined "to emphasise America's continuing commitment to the Baltics' enduring freedom, I would like very much to visit these states on this trip".

Baker said that during the visit, he was planning to discuss "our support for fundamental economic reform and immediate humanitarian needs".

He said he will "seek to meet with Prime Minister Silayev and the members of the Economic Commission to urge rapid development of a new comprehensive economic adjustment and reform plan in close consultation with the IMF, the World Bank and the other international economic institutions. This we think is the critical new step".

Baker said he was also planning to examine how "technical assistance can be accelerated to both help meet humanitarian needs and to prepare the foundations for long-term restructuring".

Another item on the agenda will be Soviet foreign policy. "In particular, I will be continuing to work on efforts to convene a peace conference to launch direct negotiations, and thereby to facilitate a viable peacemaking process in the Middle East," Baker said.

He noted that "after consulting with our Japanese partners, I also would hope to be able to accelerate action on the northern territories".

The secretary said he also hoped "to have some talks about Soviet security policy generally so that we can ensure proper follow-through on treaty commitments and understandings on nuclear safety and pave the way for a genuine and extensive defense conversion effort".

"If the developments in the Soviet Union proceed in accordance with the five principles that I have outlined, we will continue to work toward cooperation with the Soviet Union and with the republics," Baker said.

Pogodin Comments on Scheduled Baker Visit

LD0409153591 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] It was officially announced in Washington on Tuesday that America's Secretary of State James Baker will visit Moscow early next week. Here is what Radio Moscow news analyst Aleksandr Pogodin writes:

The main purpose of the trip is to assess the situation in the Soviet Union at a time when complicated and often contradictory changes are taking place. News agencies quoting representatives of the State Department say James Baker wants to know who the United States will now be dealing with in Moscow.

At the coming meetings attention will probably be given to the general problems of Soviet-American relations, to the prospects of disarmament, and to the Middle East settlement.

What are the points the United States stresses first and foremost? Speaking to newsmen on the last day of his vacation President George Bush expressed the hope that the central government will be kept in Moscow, that it will be strong, and at the same time a reliable partner with which it will be possible to deal confidently, regarding both foreign policy and disarmament. He assessed highly the activity of Mikhail Gorbachev, though he noted that the Soviet leader has lost part of his powers. George Bush stressed his intention to go on cooperating with Mikhail Gorbachev and to discuss with him key foreign policy problems and disarmament [words indistinct].

Well I believe that such an approach should be met with understanding—and not only in the Soviet Union. The point is that the state of Soviet-American relations affects inevitably and strongly the general situation in the world. This is a generally recognized reality which by no means minimizes the role of all other members of the world community.

I still say Soviet Union, since nobody yet knows what it will soon be replaced with. But whatever it might be, the dialogue and cooperation between Moscow and Washington will lose none of their importance. Moscow has expressed clearly its compliance with all the practical agreements and (principled) understandings already reached.

It remains ready for mutually advantageous cooperation, for common efforts on the international scene and for helping solve regional conflicts, including that in the Middle East.

But it seems to me it is necessary to mention one important factor. In the United States lately an intention is evermore clearly expressed to take advantage of the difficult situation in the Soviet Union and to put military and political pressure on it. Actually an attempt (is) made to link aid to the Soviet Union with one-sided concessions in disarmament.

For instance, Senator Daniel Moynihan, Democrat, in the latest issue of the magazine NEWSWEEK has suggested giving assistance to the Soviet Union on the tough condition that it eliminate all or most of its nuclear forces.

It is really hard to take all this seriously and one can only hope that the Soviet-American talks in Moscow at the beginning of next week will be based on other truly realistic (positions).

Ambassador Strauss on Future Bilateral Relations

LD0409082891 Moscow TASS in English 0751 GMT 4 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kolesnichenko]

[Text] New York September 4 TASS—Robert Strauss, new U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, believes he will be a U.S. ambassador in a free confederation or association of republics. He says the new Union will have common interests and problems, a single army and joint economic structures. He gave this assessment of the domestic situation in the Soviet Union and the future of Soviet-American relations in an interview with the Cable News Network (CNN) on Tuesday.

Strauss stressed that in the current political and economic situation, President Gorbachev and President Yeltsin realise the necessity of joint actions. Good relations have been established between them. In many spheres they reach mutual understanding. They know in what spheres their opinions differ, but the most important thing is they now support each other, he said. According to Strauss, both Gorbachev and Yeltsin realise the need for creating some sort of confederation and a transitional government to oversee this difficult period in the development of the country.

Strauss pointed out that the U.S. should not interfere in the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union. The republics and the people of the country whom we know should make a choice by themselves, he said. He believes the only way for the U.S. to be useful to the USSR is to promote the establishment of democratic principles in the country.

Speaking about Western assistance to the Soviet Union, Strauss pointed out it should be rendered directly to the industries and enterprises which need it badly and can use it most effectively. He believes their most important task is to find profitable spheres of investment. The ambassador said that during his short mission to the Soviet Union late in August he had met many Soviet businessmen and had conversations with senior executives from leading U.S. Firms wishing to do business in the USSR. In his opinion, the U.S. should help the Soviet Union create a genuine market-oriented economy.

He expressed confidence that the U.S. should not worry for its security because of the disintegration of the Soviet Union. He is sure Soviet nuclear weapons are in reliable

hands, but the U.S. should watch the situation closely and not forget about its own security.

Senator Nunn Reassured on Nuclear Arms Control

PM0409125991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Sep 91 Union Edition p 3

[A. Anichkin report: "Senator Nunn Not Worried About Soviet Nuclear Weapons"]

[Text] U.S. Senator Sam Nunn, who made an urgent trip to Moscow straight after the abortive putsch, reassured his fellow citizens. "There is no immediate nuclear threat" from the USSR to the United States, he said on national television. The chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee reached this conclusion after a series of meetings in Moscow, including a conversation with President Gorbachev and Defense Minister Marshal Shaposhnikov.

Despite this assurance, both the questions concerning the dramatic putsch and those that are inevitably arising with the Union's transformation into a confederation of sovereign states remain open. Sam Nunn, his country's most prominent expert on disarmament questions and one of the most influential figures in shaping U.S. military policy, told Soviet leaders that the problem of keeping centralized control over all nuclear arsenals is a top priority.

Americans well remember the shock that they had immediately after the attempt on President Reagan's life in 1981 when it emerged that the case containing the nuclear launch codes was left unsupervised by the country's top officials for some time and the President himself was on the operating table. The question of the "button" has been relegated to the back burner in our country owing to the passions over the fate of our former and new leaders.

However, after his visit to Moscow Sam Nunn is convinced that the nuclear arms are still under reliable control. "I do not believe at all that there is no control over these weapons, and I think the likelihood of any incidents is very small." M.S. Gorbachev confirmed at a meeting with the senator that there was absolutely no question of any loss of control over nuclear weapons during the coup.

Sam Nunn, a Democrat from Georgia, took charge of the Senate Armed Services Committee in 1987, but earlier still he became a leading authority in the field of military policy and strategy. He brought to Moscow a number of ideas which will most likely be the subject of discussion at future Soviet-U.S. talks. President Gorbachev backed, in particular, the senator's suggestion regarding the need to set up a targeted program for mutual study of military activity, embracing not just individuals or dozens of personnel but thousands of the two countries' officers. Nunn proposed including the question of tactical nuclear weapons on the talks agenda. Among other interesting ideas was his proposal for nuclear missiles to be fitted

with self-destruct devices that would allow a tragedy to be averted in the event of an accidental launch.

China

CPSU, KGB 'Fugitives' Reportedly in PRC

Foreign Ministry Comments

PM0409200191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
5 Sep 91 Union Edition p 3

[TASS correspondent V. Golovnin report, followed by IZVESTIYA telephone interview with M. Belyy, deputy chief of USSR Foreign Ministry's Far East and Indochina Administration: "CPSU and KGB Fugitives in China?"]

[Text] Tokyo, 4 Sep—Several thousand KGB personnel and CPSU functionaries fled to China after the failure of the right-wing coup in the USSR and the decision to suspend the activity of the CPSU. Japan's NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN and SANKEI SHIMBUN announced this, citing "Tokyo sources are well informed on the situation in the PRC."

According to their information, the fugitives are now in three provinces of Northeast China adjoining the Soviet border and the Xinjiang-Uygur Autonomous Region, seeking political asylum. The CPC leadership, the sources say, has decided "in principle to admit and support" these people. However, it has decided that these cases are not to be made public under any circumstances.

The sources in Tokyo indicate that an extensive campaign is currently under way to recruit translators with a knowledge of Russian. They are being sent to Northeast China and the Xinjiang-Uygur Autonomous Region to provide services for the CPSU and KGB personnel who have fled the USSR. These specialists are being trained in a CPC building in a Beijing suburb and have been promised extra money for working with political immigrants from the Soviet Union.

The sources go on to say that a USSR Embassy staffer in Beijing, defined as a "high-ranking CPSU member," is also sounding out the Chinese side on the possibility of political asylum. The PRC, however, is evading a decision on this, afraid that this step may have an adverse effect on Western countries.

The TASS report from Tokyo is, to be blunt, extraordinary. Is it true? We put this question to the USSR Foreign Ministry Far East and Indochina Administration. M. Belyy, the administration's deputy chief, picked up the telephone.

[Belyy] The Foreign Ministry has no additional information about this at the moment. At any rate, I doubt the plausibility of this report.

[IZVESTIYA] If participants in the putsch have fled the USSR to China, how, in your view, will Beijing react to that?

[Belyy] There is no agreement between our countries as regards handing over fugitives. Admittedly, one can mention two recent incidents involving aircraft hijackers. A Soviet civil aircraft was hijacked and taken to China. After a fairly lengthy trial the hijacker was brought back to the USSR. Another time a Chinese pilot flew a military aircraft to our territory. We returned the pilot to China... In principle it is not China's practice to give foreigners political asylum. [end Belyy response]

Here is an AFP report from Beijing: The USSR Embassy in China has denied press reports that any Soviet diplomats working in Beijing have asked for political asylum. This was stated by senior embassy staffer Yuriy Lysenko.

Chinese Deny Reports

LD0509105191 Moscow TASS in English 1035 GMT
5 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Oreshin]

[Text] Beijing September 5 TASS—A Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman has denied reports alleging that many KGB officers and Soviet Communist Party officials fled to China after the failed Soviet coup.

The reports were published in the SANKEI SHIMBUN and NIHON KEIZAI Japanese newspapers on Wednesday.

The reports are "groundless" Wu Jiangmin told reporters today. "There was nothing of the sort," he said.

KGB Unable To Confirm News

OW0409223491 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1900 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An "INTERFAX" correspondent asked the leader of the KGB Communications Centre, General Aleksandr Karbaynov, to comment on Japanese press reports of a mass exodus across the Sino-Soviet border by KGB employees and Communist Party officials following the collapse of the putsch.

General Karbaynov said that he was unable to confirm the details of the mass crossings of the border.

Northeast Asia

Gorbachev Thanks South Korea for Support

LD0109014791 Moscow TASS International
Service in Russian 0558 GMT 31 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo, 31 Aug (TASS)—USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev has sent a personal message to the president of the Republic of Korea, No Tae-u, expressing gratitude for the noble position taken by South Korea during the attempted coup d'etat in the Soviet Union. The message, conveyed in Seoul today by USSR Ambassador to the Republic of Korea Oleg Sokolov to Foreign Minister Yi Sang-ok, also expresses hope that Soviet-South Korean relations will proceed on an ascending line.

In the course of the conversation the minister endorsed the decision by the Government of the Republic of Korea to continue large-scale cooperation with the Soviet Union. He stressed that the granting of South Korean credits to the USSR to an overall value of 3,000 million dollars in the interests of developing this cooperation would be implemented in accordance with accords previously achieved.

Ceremony for Victims of Downed ROK Plane

LD0109133991 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service
in English 1200 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] About 100 people have attended a mourning ceremony aboard a Soviet vessel off Moneron island, 70 km to the west of Sakhalin. This spot is believed to be where the South Korean passenger airliner Boeing 747 fell into the sea after crossing Soviet airspace and being shot down by a Soviet fighter. The incident, which occurred in 1983, took a toll of 269 human lives—passengers and crew.

In a message to the Soviet Government, relatives of the perished urge it to shed light on the circumstances of the tragedy and pay a fair compensation to families of its victims.

Near East & South Asia

Libyan, Iraqi, Palestinian Support Protested

PM0209104391 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 5

[D. Kulik report: "Rally on Smolenskaya Square"]

[Text] A rally of the Soviet public was held outside the USSR Foreign Ministry building yesterday to protest the position of Libya, Iraq, and the Palestinians in welcoming the dictatorship. The Moscow Society of the Friends of Israel was one of the main organizers of the rally. The action was also supported by representatives of the "Democratic Russia" movement. Speakers included a member of the Constitutional Democratic Party.

The rally participants protested the presence of a Palestinian mission on Soviet soil and advocated "clearing out" the building where the embassy is located.

Israeli journalist Eskin [name as transliterated] addressed the rally. He said that he could not stand aloof

from the events taking place in front of the "White House" and had taken part in the defense of the Russian Government. The journalist supported the demand of the Soviet people present at the rally that the embassies of the PLO and the states which had expressed support for the State Committee for the State of Emergency be closed.

A representative of the Antifascist Center reminded people that until recently anti-Semitism was elevated to the rank of state policy. According to him, it is now essential to examine the activity of certain publications which blatantly propagandize hatred of Jews.

All the rally participants called on the Soviet Government and the USSR Foreign Ministry to restructure their foreign policy to meet the interests of democracy and meet all their demands.

Commentary Counters Al-Qadhdhafi's Thesis

LD0309021691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1558 GMT 02 Sep 91

[Commentary by TASS observer Yuriy Tyssovskiy: "A Predictable Reaction"]

[Text] [no dateline as received] The "Leader of the Libyan Revolution", as Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi was wont to be called by us previously, set out his clearly worded position on perestroika in the USSR. Speaking on Sunday to graduates of military colleges in Benghazi on the occasion of the 22nd anniversary of the military coup which brought him to power, M. Qadhdhafi obviously crossed the permissible line of a responsible politician in his assessment of the events in another country. Frankness and disregard for the political and diplomatic consequences of particular statements have always been his distinguishing trait. This, I think, permits me too to be just as frank, without regard to diplomatic courtesy.

According to reports from the world news agencies, M. Qadhdhafi expressed willingness to again "fully endorse" every word of his message to would-be conspirator Yanayev, in which he called the actions of the "Band of Eight" on 19 August a "remarkable step." The Libyan minister accused not so much the Soviet Union as President Mikhail Gorbachev of "betraying the Arab cause," of permitting the immigration of Soviet Jews to Israel, and that his actions had allegedly led to the United States remaining the only great power in the world, that the Soviet Army had "lost the war without even entering it," and had also facilitated the "humiliation" of Iraq. And so on and so forth.

M. Qadhdhafi is not alone in such a one-sided assessment of the consequences of the Moscow putsch. The Yanayev phenomenon met with positive response in other circles of the Arab world too, especially in Baghdad, among some Palestine leaders. There is no need to subject this position to especial analysis—it rests purely on the profoundly contrived thesis that the USSR "betrayed the Arab cause." The rest derives from that.

So, where does the betrayal lie? For several years, starting with the "Shevardnadze era," the Soviet leadership announced and has stuck to the priority of new thinking in international policy, founded on certain moral principles and pan-human values. Such an approach appeared to Tripoli, Baghdad and some other Arab capitals to be unacceptable. As a result, the natural human right to determine one's own fate, in particular in the shape of the Jewish immigrants leaving the USSR, was turned into the "hottest" problem of Soviet-Arab relations. At the same time, M. Qadhdhafi and the others seem not to notice that Moscow is coming out firmly and consistently against the emigrants from the USSR settling in the occupied Arab lands.

As for the "humiliation of Iraq", this should mean, it seems to me, first and foremost and exclusively Saddam Husayn, a leader who by his contempt for international legality led his own people into the abyss of unimaginable disaster. In the light of events taking place on the banks of the Tigris, one can draw a quite clear conclusion: S. Husayn and his entourage are putting themselves in the position of pariahs in the world community and have by no means abandoned the dream of becoming, by fire and the sword, the arbiters of the fate of the peoples of the Near East. And on this question, too, the position of the USSR has been and will remain to the end one of principle as, indeed, is that of the overwhelming majority of the remaining states of the world.

Well, M. Qadhdhafi's judgements about changes in the international balance should obviously be left to his own conscience. Whether they are well founded seems extremely dubious. As, indeed, do many other opinions of the Libyan leader. In conclusion, I can say just one thing: the USSR has good relations with many states of the region and its position with regard to the legitimate rights of the Arabs and Palestinians remains unchanged, but our Near East policy will not be orientated towards the foolish extremism of some Arab and Palestinian circles or of Israeli "ultras," but towards a sober and realistic approach to the existing situation, some elements of which are full of promise for attaining an all embracing solution to problems that have built up over decades.

East Europe

Poland's Balcerowicz Pays 2-Day Visit to Moscow

Meets Officials

LD0209190291 Warsaw PAP in English 1637 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, Sept. 2—Poland's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance Leszek Balcerowicz, now on a two-day visit to Moscow, held talks with Russia's Deputy Prime Minister Evgeniy Saburov on Monday, and next met with Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, member of the

provisional government or the Committee for Overseeing Soviet Economy formed by Mikhail Gorbachev after the recent coup.

The talks concerned problems of bilateral trade, economic and financial relations.

Balcerowicz will meet head of the Committee for Overseeing the Soviet Economy, Russia's Prime Minister Ivan Silayev later tonight.

Talks With Silayev

OW0309132991 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1130 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In Moscow on Monday, the head of the Committee for the Management of the National Economy (CMNE), Ivan Silayev, who is also premier of the Russian Federation, met with the Polish Vice Premier and Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz who had arrived in the USSR on a two-day visit as head of a government delegation. The parties agreed that trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and Poland are in a state of profound recession. Soviet exports to Poland have so far totaled 470 million dollars against this year's plan target of 960-970 million. Poland has reported to the USSR only a 425 million dollars' worth of goods instead of the planned amount of 1,370 million dollars. The slump in trade results from critical trends in the economies of both countries, the hard currency shortages on the part of ex-Comecon member nations, and lack of Soviet enterprises' interest in purchasing Polish goods after last January's shift to hard-currency payments in bilateral trade. Between January and July, Polish enterprises failed to receive 270-300 million dollars for the goods sold to Soviet partners. As a result, tens of Polish firms are finding themselves on the verge of bankruptcy, and refusing to ship more goods to the USSR until they receive full pay for the earlier exported consignments. According to Mr. Balcerowicz, the trade slump alone has cost Poland the loss of 5 percent of its national income. The Moscow talks heard discussion of ways to pull Soviet-Polish trade out of the deadlock. The parties considered the prospects of promoting clearing and barter practices, and introducing special dollar accounts. They instructed experts to draft an agreement within the next two weeks to facilitate at least the partial fulfillment of this year's trade and economic agreement between the Soviet Union and Poland. Mr. Silayev and Mr. Balcerowicz pointed out that the failed coup in the USSR and the positive changes that had followed, opened up more opportunity to boost direct contacts between Russia and Poland. They decided to draft and sign, early in October, an agreement for trade and economic cooperation between the RSFSR and Poland for next year. The Polish official said President Lech Walesa had asked him to hand a personal message to President Boris Yeltsin. The RSFSR leader will receive the Polish delegation on Tuesday.

Political Goodwill Noted

LD0309190691 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 1005 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Report by correspondent Marek Vlassa in Moscow]

[Text] Political goodwill on both sides means that the results of Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz's visit will be greater than expected, given that the situation in the Soviet Union is only just becoming clearer. A framework agreement on economic cooperation with the Russian Republic, which enjoys 80 percent of our trade exchange with the Soviet Union, is to be signed this afternoon. Trade will be conducted in hard currency, but other forms of accounting are also anticipated, given Russia's currency problems. Talks on economic treaties with Belorussia, the Ukraine, Moldova, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia are very far advanced. Poland has wanted to sign such treaties for a long time. Up to now, however, the republics have had few possibilities for constructing their own economic strategies. This is changing only just now.

According to our experts accompanying Deputy Premier Balcerowicz, a definite revival in trade exchange will be possible if we manage to establish principles for trade next year, and in the even of the West agreeing to defer the payment of Soviet debts and granting new credits. We must also solve the issue of mutual debt. The estimate is that we are indebted to the Soviet Union to the tune of four 4.7 billion rubles and \$1.6 billion, while the Soviet Union's debt to us is assessed at 7.5 billion rubles. The creation of a joint bank, which was agreed upon today, ought to serve trade exchange well, particularly with Russia.

A meeting between Leszek Balcerowicz and Russian President Boris Yeltsin is planned for 1330 our time. Our deputy premier is to hand him a letter from President Lech Walesa concerning the state treaty between Poland and Russia. It is uncertain whether Leszek Balcerowicz will meet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Confers With Gorbachev

LD0409133391 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1300 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 4 Sep (TASS)—Despite being extremely busy, USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev considered it necessary to allocate time to have a meeting with Leszek Balcerowicz, deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers and minister of finance.

Mikhail Gorbachev briefed him on the drafting of very important documents which, once adopted by the Congress, will lay the foundation for a new Union, political and economic stabilization, and revival of the country. This will have an immediate effect on our relations with Poland, he emphasized, and will make possible a satisfactory settlement of problems left over from the past and the establishment of mutually beneficial ties on

generally accepted market principles, taking account of the specifics of the two countries and their present-day realities.

Leszek Balcerowicz gave a brief description of the progress of economic changes in Poland. Similar problems that both countries have were noted. So it is all the more important to keep up constant contacts and to pool experience, which was agreed upon.

The Polish minister recalled the sorest issues in trade exchange. We are keeping them constantly in view, the president replied, and we will be busy on them as soon as we have settled the situation in our own country.

We and Poland are "fated" to live alongside each other, together, and to cooperate, Mikhail Gorbachev said in conclusion. And we cannot imagine normalization in our own country without this. We need each other. I have spoken about this with Mr Walesa, your president. Such is our firm and, one might say, "strategic" line.

Further on Gorbachev Talks

LD0409191191 Warsaw PAP in English 1746 GMT
4 Sep 91

[By PAP correspondent Jerzy Malczyk]

[Text] Moscow, Sept. 4—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev received the architect of the Polish economic reform, Leszek Balcerowicz, at a surprise meeting here Wednesday and invited him to revisit Moscow after the extraordinary Congress of Soviet Deputies.

Balcerowicz, who is deputy prime minister and the minister of finance, had unexpectedly extended his visit to Moscow last night at Gorbachev's request and in consultation with the Polish prime minister, Jan Krzysztof Bielecki.

The meeting with Gorbachev lasted about half an hour, but the Soviet president said he feels like talking to Balcerowicz for several hours to discuss the Polish experience in transforming socialist economy.

Asked to present some of the knotty points about the Polish reform, Balcerowicz called on Gorbachev to personally intervene in order to unblock Polish-Soviet trade and payments, which he described as the key problem in the field.

Gorbachev promised to look into the problem as soon as the situation in the Soviet Union gets settled. He admitted that it would be paradoxical if the Polish-Soviet cooperation be allowed to break down at the time when the Soviet Union is about to embark on the transformations which Poland had pursued earlier on.

The Soviet president briefed the Polish envoy with a package of documents which—if they are adopted—may stabilize the political and economic situation in the new

Soviet Union. This would have an impact on the relations with Poland. It would allow for settling old problems and establishing new, mutually advantageous contacts based on free market principles with due regard to the specific features of each country and present day circumstances.

Making reference to his recent talk with President Lech Walesa of Poland, Gorbachev voiced his satisfaction with the course of it and said: "We are doomed to live side by side and cooperate. We need each other. We talked about this with President Walesa. This is our firm, strategic line."

Directly after his meeting with the Soviet president, Balcerowicz returned home to attend a cabinet meeting on special powers for the Polish government, which had been postponed to wait for his return.

Upon his arrival in Warsaw today, Leszek Balcerowicz said the Polish-Russian economic agreement and the decision to set up a working group to consider boosting Polish exports to the east are the key outcome of his three day visit to Moscow.

He also said he did not voice interest in Poland's entering the economic union to be formed by fifteen Soviet republics and other countries.

His half-hour talk with President Gorbachev dealt with the Polish experience in economic reform and stress was laid on moves to prevent the breakdown in Polish trade with the east, but no radical improvement may be expected in the latter field, the Polish reform planner told reports here.

Gorbachev and Balcerowicz agreed on permanent contacts and exchange of experience, the TASS agency reported earlier today.

Burlakov Urges Troop Talks With Poland, CSFR

LD3008091891 Hamburg DPA in German 0810 GMT
30 Aug 91

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—Negotiations with Poland and Czechoslovakia on the return of Soviet troops from Germany through these two countries should be resumed. The commander in chief of the Western Group of Soviet Armed Forces stationed in Germany, Colonel General Matvey Burlakov, had proposed this to USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, it was said in a statement released late last night from the Western Group's press center in Wuensdorf.

In the statement, Burlakov once again gave the assurance that nothing would change in the timetable for the withdrawal of troops from the Federal Republic. It will be "strictly adhered to." At the same time Burlakov expressed his thanks "to the German citizens, various establishments, and the Bundeswehr" for the support shown during the withdrawal of the troops.

Gorbachev Greets Prague International Forum

LD0409200191 Moscow TASS in English 1835 GMT
9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Shamshin]

[Text] Prague September 4 TASS—An international forum "Culture and Democracy" opened here today.

It is held on the initiative of UNESCO General Director Frederico Mayor under the aegis of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel.

The forum is being attended by over 200 politicians, scientists and cultural workers from 65 countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, Northern and Southern America.

The totalitarian system has been eliminated throughout central and Eastern Europe, Havel told the opening ceremony. Countries of the former Eastern bloc are trying to create a democratic political system and efficient market economy on the Western pattern.

However, according to Havel, the level of their economic development and considerable interethnic and social problems of the region are close to those of the "Third" World.

The Czechoslovak leader recalled that the break-up of totalitarianism has become possible thanks to democratic transformations in the Soviet Union initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev.

Perestroika demonstrated that progressive forces in the communist leadership realized the depth of the public crisis—moral, political, social and economic, Havel believes.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev sent greetings to forum participants.

"Culture and morals in the politics are the core of the new thinking," the message says. "In these days we realize most acutely the moral essence of the victory of democratic forces over the reaction.

"There is a call-over between times: in Moscow of August 1991, same as in Prague of August 1968, tanks opposed democracy. But it took years then for democracy to win, now it took days if not hours. The world, Europe and my country have changed.

"The will of peoples for democracy became insuperable, civic consciousness has grown. One is not born a citizen. One becomes a citizen as result of a tireless labor of the mind and soul, taking upon oneself the responsibility for the future of the motherland.

"We highly appreciate the democratic solidarity displayed by the international community.

"As never before do we now need the solidarity of all adherent to ideals of democracy, of all who can actively

contribute to the blending of politics with morals, the consolidation of humanism, justice and human rights."

The forum will last for three days.

Western Europe

Shevardnadze Meets Chirac, Discusses Conditions

LD0309182991 Moscow TASS in English
1429 GMT 3 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—It is necessary to retain a stable and single country in conditions of a single democratic space, President of the Soviet Foreign Political Association Eduard Shevardnadze said today.

Shevardnadze spoke during his meeting with Paris Mayor Jacques Chirac.

Speaking about the situation in the country after the failed coup attempt, Shevardnadze noted that the "main difficulty has been overcome, but the situation still remains very complex". "the rapidly worsening situation is the most dangerous problem," he said.

Shevardnadze did not exclude the possibility of people "flooding the streets" and the country falling into "chaos".

"Disintegration of the union contradicts the interests of the democratic Europe and the whole world," Shevardnadze said.

Speaking about Western aid to the Soviet Union, Shevardnadze said it is inexpedient to give large credits to the country. He believes that increased investments in the Soviet economy could help lead the country out of crisis.

"There is no particular risk for the West, as republics now have full sovereignty," Shevardnadze said. Even if the union crumbles, Russia, Kazakhstan and other economically strong republics will remain. "In fact, the country is a virgin land for investments," Shevardnadze said.

Speaking about payments with Western partners, Shevardnadze said the rouble should be made convertible before July, 1992, even if "social standards worsen".

Speaking about mass destruction weapons in the Soviet Union, Shevardnadze said he was sure that "strategic weapons are under strict control". Nevertheless, he favoured rapid solution of problems concerning tactical and chemical weapon cuts.

"If we remain a single union state, we will continue arms reduction talks more actively," Shevardnadze said.

Burlakov: Agreed Schedule Remains in Force*LD3108172891 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1036 GMT 31 Aug 91*

[By TASS correspondent Igor Osinskiy]

[Text] Berlin, 31 Aug (TASS)—When will the Soviet troops' withdrawal from Germany to be finished: in 1994, as was established by the appropriate agreement between USSR and the FRG, or two years earlier? Such questions were raised today in various newspapers in eastern Germany. In theory, the completion of the withdrawal in 1992 is possible—writes, for example, 'BERLINER MORGENPOST' citing the parliamentary state secretary in the Ministry of Defense Willi Wimmer. The newspaper notes that from the beginning of this year 80,000 soldiers and 25,000 members of the servicemen families have already left Germany, that is, in accordance with the schedule. And withdrawal of the equipment has even gone ahead of the schedule.

At the press center of the Western Group of Troops (ZGV), where the TASS correspondent went to request a comment on these suggestions, he was told the following.

Information that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Germany is being carried out significantly ahead of the agreed schedule and could be completed by the end of next year or the beginning of 1993 was broadcast by USSR Central Television. However, this does not correspond to the reality. Chief Commander of the Western Group of Troops Colonel General Matvey Burlakov confirms that the plan and the schedule agreed with the German side remain in force. The troops' withdrawal is being carried out with consideration to the real technical and transportation capacities, the preparation of a social base for the personnel as well as construction of housing for 55,000 servicemen families who do not have accommodation. As is registered in the agreement, the last Soviet soldier will leave German land by the end of 1994.

Bakatin Hands Over Documents on Wallenberg Case*LD0409211391 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1912 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Borisov and Sergey Nikishov]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 4 Sep (TASS)— USSR KGB Chairman Vadim Bakatin today gave the Swedish Ambassador to the USSR Karl Otto Oerjan Berner five previously unknown documents from KGB archives concerning the fate of the Swedish diplomat Raul Wallenberg. Without going into detail on the content of the documents Vadim Bakatin reported at the ceremony for handing them over that this is all that it is has been possible to find in the KGB archives. In his words "unfortunately these documents do not shed full light on this business either." "They simply confirm the version which has existed up to now," Vadim Bakatin said. However there is no need to lose the hope that new ones

may be found. The Chairman of the USSR KGB noted that he first encountered the Wallenberg case when he was still USSR Minister of Internal Affairs. After his appointment to his present post, in his words, he gained "new, broader opportunities to study this case." Expressing gratitude to Vadim Bakatin for handing over the documents the Swedish ambassador reported that in the next few days a special commission made up of Soviet and Swedish specialists will begin further study of the Wallenberg case. [passage omitted]

Further on Wallenberg Documents*LD0509064891 Moscow TASS in English
0558 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Borisov and Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—Chairman of the Soviet State Security Committee Vadim Bakatin on Wednesday has passed to Swedish Ambassador to the USSR Carl Otto Oerjan Berger five hitherto unknown documents from the State Security Committee's archives on the destiny of Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg.

Without dwelling on the content of the documents, Bakatin said at the passing over ceremony, that these are all that they have managed to find in the archives so far.

According to Bakatin, "these documents do not, unfortunately, throw full light on this case. They just confirm the existing version." However, one should not lose hope that new documents will be found.

Bakatin said he first came across the Wallenberg case being the Soviet interior minister. After his nomination the chairman of the Soviet State Security Committee, Bakatin got "new, broader possibilities to study this case."

The Swedish ambassador expressed gratitude to Bakatin for the granted documents and said that in the nearest future a special commission, to include both Soviet and Swedish specialists, will study the Wallenberg case.

Raoul Wallenberg, a Swedish diplomat, was born in 1912 to one of the richest Swedish families. Working in Budapest from July 9, 1944, he saved no less than 20,000 people, mostly Jews, from death in Nazi camps by giving them Swedish documents.

In spring of 1945 he disappeared from Budapest, which was taken by the Soviet troops. The date of his death is unknown. According to official reports, he died from a heart attack in the Lubyanskaya Prison in Moscow in July 1947.

According to the information from former Soviet State Security Committee staffer Oleg Gordiyevskiy, published in the Danish JYLLANDS-EOSTEN newspaper in October 1990, the Swedish diplomat was "liquidated after his refusal to return to Sweden as a KGB agent."

In fall 1989 personal belongings of the diplomat and his registration forms in the Lubyanskaya Prison were passed over to his relatives and members of the Swedish "Raou: Wallenberg Association."

PRAVDA: George Blake 'Remains in Moscow'

PM0209144391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[INTERFAX report: "Blake Remains in Moscow"]

[Text] In connection with a report in the British DAILY EXPRESS that Sergey Stepashin, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Security Committee, is alleged to have stated in an interview the possibility of extraditing former Soviet intelligence agent George Blake to Britain, the USSR KGB Public Relations Center has noted that Stepashin's words were distorted, and furthermore he was mistakenly called deputy chairman of the Russian KGB.

As a KGB Public Relations Center press release points out, what Sergey Stepashin actually stated was: "There will be an appropriate decision on this by the commission created to investigate the activity of USSR KGB organs during the coup."

George Blake, a Soviet intelligence agent who spent many years working for British special services, was unmasked and sentenced by the court to life imprisonment. After his sensational escape from jail, Blake settled in the USSR.

Latin America & Caribbean

Cuban Reaction to Developments Viewed

PM0309150991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
2 Sep 91 Union Edition p 4

[Correspondent A. Kamorin report: "How To Live Without Ideological Brothers' Support"]

[Text] Havana—"These are undeniably portentous and hard times which we never wanted to live through. We are always prepared for the worst, however, and our party has always told the people the truth"—this is one of the key points made by an editorial article published by the newspaper GRANMA reflecting the point of view

of the highest Cuban leadership on the swift and dramatic events that have occurred in the USSR since the failure of the attempted coup d'etat.

This announcement was expected both inside and outside Cuba. Let us remind readers that at the beginning of last week the republic government published a statement that took up a strictly neutral position in relation to the activities of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, calling on Cubans and the world community "to allow Soviet people to resolve for themselves the profound crisis in which they find themselves." In this respect the Cuban press relayed fairly full reports about events in the USSR while carefully avoiding any hints of analysis or commentary.

The article published in GRANMA, which is without doubt supported by the highest party echelons on the island, is too long to be quoted in its entirety. Much of it is given over to an account of the events in the USSR, which are well known to our readers.

As for the actual substantive part of the article, on the whole this can be summed up in one sentence: "Whatever happens in the USSR, we shall not deviate one step from the path we have chosen as a scientific and revolutionary response to the need to realize the ideas of Jose Marti, and we shall steadfastly progress toward the fairest, most humanitarian, and most rational society ever invented by mankind—a socialist society."

At the same time, however, the Cuban leadership does not conceal its concern that the changes in our country could lead to a future worsening of Cuba's supply crisis, which they call here "an emergency period in peacetime." On this occasion, it is true, mention of this is not only accompanied by the usual appeals for ever more dogged labor and intensified economizing, but also by an expression of readiness to cooperate with Soviet organizations at Union, republic, and even lower levels, notwithstanding their political sympathies. A similar way of thinking, incidentally, is becoming apparent in the sphere of interstate relations as well.

There is no doubt, however, that the principal addressees of the progressive article are the people of Cuba, who are again being told to rally round and tighten their belts to endure difficult times with dignity. Regarding a concrete answer to the main question—how to go on living without backup from their ideological bigger brothers—the island's inhabitants have been instructed to wait until the Fourth PCC [Communist Party of Cuba] Congress, which is due to start 10 October.

Congress of People's Deputies**Special Session Continues Proceedings 5 Sep****Final Documents Reviewed**

LD0509083591 Moscow TASS in English 0821 GMT
5 Sep 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—A special session of the Soviet Congress of People's Deputies today continued, despite being scheduled to work for three days.

On Wednesday, the third day of work, deputies failed to pass final documents, including the bill on state power and managing bodies in the Soviet Union and the declaration on human rights and freedoms.

After republican delegations discussed the documents separately on Wednesday, the evening vote showed the congress even failed to decide on beginning their article-by-article discussion.

The bill on state power and managing bodies in the Soviet Union for a transitional period, based on the statement by President Mikhail Gorbachev and ten top republican officials, can be passed by two-thirds of the vote.

The bill envisages disbanding the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR and changing the foundation of the Soviet parliament. Deputies to its chambers, the Council of Republics and the Council of the Union, should be delegated by republics. In fact, it means self-disbandment of the congress and the current parliament.

First Point of Statement Adopted

LD0509074491 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0730 GMT 5 Sep 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Vladimir Ischankov]

[Text] Moscow, 5 Sep (TASS)—The Congress of USSR People's Deputies has just adopted the first point of the decision on measures arising from the statement by the USSR president and leaders of the 10 republics "and has basically approved" proposals arising from this document.

The vote was 1,382 deputies in favor and 55 against with 88 abstentions.

Vice Presidency Abolished

LD0509092191 Moscow TASS in English 0852 GMT
5 Sep 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—The extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR has abolished the post of vice president of the Union.

The currently discussed bill on state power and managing bodies in the Soviet Union during a transitional period determines that if the Soviet president cannot perform his duties for one or another reason, including the state of his health, the State Council shall elect a council chairperson from its members, who will be acting Soviet president. The decision shall be confirmed by the Soviet parliament within three days.

Until recently, Gennadiy Yanayev was Soviet vice president. Now he is in custody, charged with preparing and implementing a coup d'etat.

Council of State Approved

LD0509085391 Moscow TASS in English 0844 GMT
5 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—The extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies, when discussing a bill on state power and administration bodies of the USSR during the transitional period, today decided to form a Council of State on an inter-republican basis.

The Council is to consist of the president of the USSR and top executives of union republics mentioned in the Constitution of the USSR.

The Council's functions will be to decide in a coordinated fashion on domestic and foreign policy issues concerning the common interests of republics.

The work of the Council of State will be directed by the president of the USSR.

Composition of New Supreme Soviet

LD0509111191 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1000 GMT 5 Sep 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 5 Sep (TASS)—After USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev threatened to dissolve the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the deputies adopted by a two-thirds majority the first article of a draft law on USSR bodies of state power and government in the period of transition.

The USSR Supreme Soviet is to be the supreme representative body of power in the Union in the period of transition. It will consist of two independent houses: a Soviet of the Republics (Upper House) and a Soviet of the Union (Lower House).

The Soviet of the Republics will include 20 deputies from each republic from among people's deputies of the USSR and of the Union republics to be delegated by the

supreme bodies of power of these republics. As a federative republic, Russia will have 52 deputies in the house. Other Union republics which include republics and autonomous formations are to delegate to the Soviet of the Republics an extra one deputy each for every republic and autonomous area. But to guarantee the equality of rights of the republics in voting in the House each Union republic will have one vote.

The Soviet of the Union will be formed by delegations from Union republics made up of USSR people's deputies according to current quotas and by agreement with the supreme bodies of power of the Union republics. [passage omitted]

Law on Transition Passes

LD0509121691 Moscow TASS in English 1130 GMT
5 Sep 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Konstantin Voitsekhovich and Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—The Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR has adopted the main document—the Law on Organs of State Power and Administration in the USSR for the Transitional Period, thereby, in fact, dissolving itself and relinquishing all its rights to the State Council and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

1,682 deputies voted for the law, 43 against, and 63 abstained.

This happened after various versions of the bill's first article failed to get the necessary two thirds of the votes and President Mikhail Gorbachev threatened to disband the Congress by saying that it would have "to stop its work" if no decision was adopted. After this unequivocal warning, all the remaining articles of the bill were approved right away within less than one hour.

A two-chamber USSR Supreme Soviet, according to the law, will be the highest representative organ of power in the Union during the transitional period. However, the principles governing its formation differ substantially from previous procedures.

A Council of the Republics will be formed instead of the Council of Nationalities. Its deputies will be directly delegated by republican parliaments. The second chamber will be called the Council of the Union as before. However, it will be formed also on agreement with top republican organs of power. Furthermore, the two houses will not enjoy equal rights as before. Laws, adopted by the Council of the Union will come into force only after approval by the Council of the Republics.

The law annuls the post of USSR vice-president. It also says nothing about the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Head of the USSR President's Office Grigoriy Revenko told journalists yesterday that it was envisaged to elect

the latter at the forthcoming session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. According to the law, the USSR president is to convene it not later than October 2.

The law envisages the formation of new organs of power, including the State Council "For the purpose of jointly solving problems of domestic and external policy, affecting the common interests of the republics". It will consist of the USSR president and top officials from the Union republics, indicated in the USSR Constitution. The work of the State Council will be conducted by the USSR president. Decisions passed by the State Council will be obligatory for all. The law says nothing about relationships between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the State Council.

If the USSR president is unable to discharge his duties for some reasons, including health condition, confirmed by the State Medical Commission, the "State Council shall elect a chairman from among its members, who shall temporarily discharge the functions of USSR president," the law says. Such a decision is to be endorsed by the USSR Supreme Soviet within three days.

The law also specifies the status of the inter-republican economic committee, which will be set up by republics on a parity basis. Its chairman shall be appointed by the USSR president after due agreement is reached with the State Council.

According to the law, all-Union bodies responsible for the country's defence, security, law and order and international affairs shall be directed by the USSR president and the State Council.

The law guarantees the status of USSR people's deputies for the entire period of their election. This, without doubt, helped the Congress reconcile itself with the bitter prospect of self-dissolution.

Human Rights Declaration Adopted

LD0509115991 Moscow TASS in English 1113 GMT
5 Sep 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—For the first time in the history of the Soviet state, the extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies today adopted a Declaration of Human Rights and Freedoms.

The declaration "sums up our citizens' rights and freedoms that we deem important for our entire country, irrespective of nationality, place of residence, sex, language or profession". Academician Vladimir Kudryavtsev, chairman of the declaration drafting committee, said when presenting the document to the deputies.

"No group, party or state interests may be placed above the interests of the individual," the document emphasises.

The declaration guarantees the equality of all citizens of the country and their rights to the freedom of speech, conscience and religion, the right to found political parties, trade unions and public organisations, to elect and be elected to organs of power.

The document also guarantees the inviolability of the person, of the home, the privacy of correspondence (except in cases determined by law), as well as the right to free education at state-run educational establishments, and free medical aid at state-run health care institutions.

"Every person has the right to work and its results", "the right to a free choice of a job or rejection of a job", "a state-guaranteed minimum wage or salary and protection from unemployment", the declaration reads.

In addition, the declaration guarantees the right to social protection, as well as the right to rest and leisure, social maintenance in old age, in case of illness or loss of the capacity to work.

All rights and freedoms sealed in the declaration are entitled to protection in court.

The declaration "Was drawn up in connection with the drafting of a new Constitution of the USSR 18 months ago and was contemplated as part of a new Constitution. Since the Constitution issue is postponed so far, there occurred the idea of discussing and adopting the declaration separately", Kudryavtsev said.

The declaration is based on "International documents, the covenants on human rights, our legislative acts and present-day Soviet realities. A large contribution to the idea of this declaration was made at one time by Academician Andrey Sakharov. The provisions of a Russian Federation Constitution, which is now being drafted, have also been utilised", Academician Kydryavtsev said.

Resolution on Joint Statement

LD0509140391 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1311 GMT 5 Sep 91

[*"Resolution of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies"*—TASS headline]

[Text] [No dateline as received] On measures arising from the joint statement by the USSR president and the supreme leaders of the Union republics and the decisions of the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme soviet.

As a result of the coup d'etat that took place 19-21 August 1991 the process of formation of new Union relations among sovereign states was put under threat. The situation that developed could entail grave consequences within the country and in relations with foreign states.

The failure of the plot and the triumph of democratic forces struck an important blow against the reactionaries

and against all that was holding back the process of democratic transformations. In this way an historic opportunity to accelerate the radical transformations and renew the country was created.

To prevent the further disintegration of the power structure, the Congress of USSR People's Deputies proclaims a transitional period for the shaping of a new system of state relations based on the free will of the republics and the interests of the peoples.

The Congress of USSR People's Deputies resolves:

1. To approve in principle the proposals arising from the joint statement of the USSR president and the supreme leaders of the Union republics and the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the situation that has arisen in the country in connection with the coup d'etat.

2. To speed up the elaboration and signing of a treaty on a Union of sovereign states in which each state is able to determine independently the form of its participation in the Union. The new Union must be based on the principles of the independence and the territorial integrity of states, observance of the rights of individuals and peoples, social justice and democracy.

3. To develop and conclude interrepublican agreements (accords) on economic, currency and financial and scientific and technical cooperation, ecological safety, protection of the rights and freedoms of citizens, on the principles of collective security and defense, while preserving single armed forces and single management of nuclear and other arsenals of weapons of mass destruction.

The Interrepublican Economic Committee should, without delay, begin developing and concluding a treaty on an economic union that would have an open nature; participation in it should not be made conditional on the signing of the Union treaty.

4. The USSR president, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR State Council should ensure the legal continuity of power and administration, thereby guaranteeing a peaceful and consistent transition to democratic civic society.

5. During the transitional period, all the international accords and obligations undertaken by the USSR, including those on the issues of reducing and controlling armaments and protecting human rights, as well as foreign economic obligations, should be strictly observed. To support the striving of republics toward their recognition as subjects of international law, and examining the issue of their membership of the United Nations Organization.

6. During the transitional period, all state bodies, institutions, organizations, and officials are to ensure the observance of the civil rights and freedoms, proclaimed and guaranteed by the USSR Constitution, by the Declaration of Human Rights and Freedoms, and by the laws of the USSR and the republics, as well as freedom of the

press and of conscience, and observance of the right to set up political parties, trade unions and public associations.

7. While respecting the declarations of sovereignty and acts of independence adopted by the republics, the Congress stresses that the acquisition of independence by republics that have declined to enter the new Union requires that they hold talks with the USSR to resolve the whole range of issues related to secession, and also that they immediately accede to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and to other crucial international treaties and agreements, including those guaranteeing the rights and freedom of the individual.

Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR

Moscow, the Kremlin

[Dated] 5 September 1991

Gorbachev, Sobchak on Lenin Reburial

LD0509103591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russia 0957 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Remarks by Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak and USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev at the extraordinary session of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin in Moscow—live]

[Text] [Sobchak] Esteemed President! Esteemed Congress! I propose that we put a worthy end to our work and adopt the following decision in conclusion: To carry out the last wish of Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov/Lenin, and bury him in accordance with the religious and national traditions of our people and in accordance with his will, at the Volkovo cemetery in Leningrad, with all fitting honors. [applause]

[Gorbachev] I think that calm and reasoned discussion about this, considering what and whom we are talking about, needs to be conducted when the new Supreme Soviet gathers. So, without sweeping aside or rejecting the opinion of Deputy Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak, let's pass it on to there. [some noises from hall]

Let people go to their local areas and get together with working people. Is that all right? Yes.

Session Concludes

LD0509102591 Moscow TASS in English 1021 GMT 5 Sep 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—The extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies ended in the Kremlin today with the adoption of a law on state government and management bodies of the USSR during the transition period and a declaration of human rights and freedoms.

Summing up the Congress's work, President Mikhail Gorbachev said the "optimum decisions" passed by the Congress open opportunities for overcoming the difficulties which beset the country.

Special Session Continues Proceedings 4 Sep

Draft Law Circulated

LD0409135291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1315 GMT 4 Sep 91

[By TASS parliamentary representatives Ivan Ivanov and Konstantin Voytsekhovich]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Sep (TASS)—A draft law on the country's bodies of state power in the transitional period which has just been circulated at the extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies proposes that the post of USSR vice president should be abolished. According to the draft law, the two-chamber Supreme Soviet will be the highest representative body of Union power in the transitional period. It is planned to set up a Council of State consisting of the USSR President and the highest officials of the Union republics to come to an agreed solution of questions of internal and foreign policy concerning the common interests of the republics. In the event of the president not being able to fulfill his duties for one reason or another, including for health reasons, the Council of State will elect a chairman of the Council of State from among their members who will carry out the obligations of the USSR president. According to the draft law, an interrepublican Economy Committee is to be formed on principles of equality to manage the economy. The draft law must get no less than two-thirds of the people's deputies' votes to acquire the force of law.

Draft Law on Transition

PM0409235791 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Sep 91 p 1

["Text" of draft USSR law on "On the Organs of State Power and Management of the USSR in the Transitional Period," contained in reportage from the Kremlin by ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA parliamentary correspondents Vyacheslav Dolganov and Robert Minasov]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Draft of the USSR Law prepared by the Congress Commission and the signatories to the statement by the USSR president and the leaders of the Union republics "On the Organs of State Power and Management of the USSR During the Transitional Period"

During the transitional period the Congress of USSR People's Deputies resolves:

Article 1. The supreme representative organ of Union power during the transitional period is the Supreme Soviet, which consists of two chambers: the Soviet of the Republics and the Soviet of the Union.

The Soviet of the Republics consists of 20 USSR people's deputies and 20 people's deputies from each Union republic delegated by these republics' supreme organs of power. In view of the federative system of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], it has 45 deputies in the Soviet of the Republics. In order to ensure the equal rights of the republics when voting in the Soviet of the Republics, each Union republic has one vote.

The Soviet of the Union is formed by the supreme organs of power of the Union republics from USSR people's deputies in accordance with currently existing quotas.

Article 2. The USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet of the Republics and Soviet of the Union by joint decisions make changes to the USSR Constitution, admit new states to the Union, approve the Union budget and the report on its implementation, and declare war and conclude peace.

The Soviet of the Republics adopts decisions on the organization of and procedure for the activity of Union organs and ratifies the international treaties of the USSR.

The Soviet of the Union examines questions of safeguarding the rights and freedoms of USSR citizens and adopts decisions on all questions within the competence of the Supreme Soviet except those relating to the competence of the Soviet of the Republics. Laws adopted by the Soviet of the Union enter into force after they are approved by the Soviet of the Republics.

Article 3. A State Council is formed to provide coordinated solutions to domestic and foreign policy issues affecting the common interests of the republics. The State Council consists of the USSR president and the highest officials of the Union republics named in the USSR Constitution. The USSR president directs the work of the State Council. The State Council defines the procedure for its activity. Decisions of the State Council are binding.

Article 4. The post of vice president of the USSR is abolished.

If the USSR president for various reasons cannot continue to perform his duties (including on health grounds, as confirmed by the findings of the State Medical Commission set up by the USSR Supreme Soviet), the State Council elects a State Council chairman from among its members as acting USSR president. This decision is to be approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet within three days.

Article 5. In order to coordinate the management of the national economy and ensure the coordinated implementation of economic reforms and social policy, the Union republics form the Interpublic Economic Committee on an equal footing. The committee's chairman is appointed by the USSR president with the agreement of the State Council. The USSR president and the USSR

State Council directly exercise leadership of Union-wide organs in charge of questions of defense, security, law and order, and international affairs.

In their activity, the Interpublic Economic Committee and the leaders of Union-wide organs are accountable to the USSR president, the USSR State Council, and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 6. All deputies are to keep their status as USSR people's deputies during their term in office, including their right to take part in the work of USSR Supreme Soviet organs.

It is deemed inadvisable to hold sessions of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies during the transitional period.

Article 7. The USSR president is to convene the new USSR Supreme Soviet no later than two weeks after it is formed.

Article 8. The provisions of the USSR Constitution are valid insofar as they do not contravene the present law.

Article 9. The present law enters into force from the moment that it is published. [passage omitted]

Yanayev, Lukyanov Relieved From Duties

LD0409163191 Moscow TASS in English 1606 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—The Congress of USSR People's Deputies today resolved to release Genadiy Yanayev from the duties of the Soviet vice-president, and Anatoliy Lukyanov from the duties of the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Gorbachev Requests Break

LD0409085191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0732 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Speech by USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies in Moscow—live]

[Excerpts] Now let's consult on the central issues, by which I mean the Congress resolution on issues stemming from the joint statement by the USSR president and the supreme officials of the republics, and from the decisions of the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. We have several proposals here—I mean drafts. I have to inform you of this: All of the delegations, and groups, and within the scope of the republics, have been working actively, and have submitted very serious proposals.

The Russian leadership, on behalf of its delegation, has submitted, as you will know if they have managed to distribute copies, an alternative draft. That is, you will have a chance to see it. It has been handed to the

commission. The Ukrainian delegation has also submitted very serious observations and proposals; Comrade Shcherbak told me and wanted to speak. And there are very substantive considerations from other republics, and I have to say, from everyone. And so we will probably have to do as follows: everything is so important and serious that we clearly have to have a break, perhaps until 1400 or 1500, so that the leaders who signed the statement can, together with the commission, with its involvement, synthesize everything and reach agreed proposals. This is our general view, those who are on the Presidium. [passage omitted]

So let's instruct the president, well, those who signed the statement—jointly with the commission set up by the Congress and the group for making a legal assessment of all these issues, in contact with them—to reach an agreed document, and to announce a break now until 1500.

Session Reviewed

LD0409181591 Moscow TASS in English 1753 GMT
4 Sep 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Ivan Ivanov and Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—The Soviet president and leaders of the republics, who have so far been successful in managing the work of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, this evening failed to preserve control over the situation.

The Congress did not finish his work today as it had been scheduled. The consideration of the final documents by paragraphs will begin tomorrow.

The documents were considered in republican deputations all day long. But in the evening there were hardly enough votes for solving the procedure issue on the beginning of the consideration of the documents by paragraphs.

Meanwhile, a draft law on bodies of state power and management of the USSR in the transitional period, which will fulfil the statement of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and leaders of the ten republics, can be adopted only by the two thirds of votes.

In accordance with the statement's provisions, the draft law envisages the dissolution of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the change of the principle of the formation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Deputies of its both chambers, the Council of Republics and the Council of the Union, should be delegated by republics. Thus, the Congress and the Supreme Soviet should practically dissolve themselves.

The Presidium had to open the debate instead of considering by paragraphs the draft law and the other two final documents—a resolution on measures arising from

the statement of the Soviet president and leaders of the republics, and a declaration of rights and freedoms of person.

The first one to speak in the debate was Colonel Viktor Alksnis, a leader of the Soyuz Parliamentary Group, who said that the authors of the statement repeat the dispersal of the constituent assembly by the Bolsheviks in 1918. "People will not forgive us," said Alksnis.

He was supported by deputy from Donbass Yuriy Burykh, who described the actions of the Soviet president and the leaders of the republics as "a revolutionary lawlessness posing a real threat to rights and freedoms of citizens".

Nikolay Kutsenko, a deputy from Poltava, the Ukraine, called the authors of the statement "the new emergency committee".

Critics of the statement were opposed by the best orators from the democratic camp.

Leningrad Mayor Anatoly Sobchak called for the beginning of the consideration of the documents by paragraphs and stressed that "the major aim of the congress is to provide for legal succession from the old system of statehood that broke down during the coup to the new Union."

Galina Starovoitova, who spoke on behalf of the inter-regional deputy group, offered deputies "to befittingly leave the stage," using the "historic chance to begin the construction of a new community of nations in a bloodless, civilized and peaceful manner."

At the end, the Congress adopted the resolution as a basis. However, after voting on the draft law on bodies of state power and management of the USSR in the transitional period, the electronic table showed "the decision not adopted" sign.

Today's discussion showed that it will be difficult to gain the necessary two thirds of votes for the adoption of the draft law.

Talking to correspondents in Congress lobby, head of the Soviet president's staff Grigoriy Revenko assumed that if the Congress does not bring any results, the decisions arising from the statement will be legitimized by presidential decrees.

Television Carries 3 Sep Congress Proceedings

LD0309070391

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television first Program Network in Russian at 0702 GMT on 3 September begins a live relay of the extraordinary congress of people's deputies in the kremlin.

At 0703 GMT random shots of hall show Popov and Rutskoy, then shot of platform shows, among others—left to right on screen—Laptev, Yeltsin, Gorbachev, Nazarbayev, and Nishanov.

At 0704 GMT Nazarbayev calls on deputies to register: 1,609 present, against quorum of 1,485. He invites deputy Anatoliy Nikolayevich Saunin, chairman of the congress secretariat, to speak.

Saunin outlines procedures for those wishing to speak and for submission of amendments. He mentions the large number of telegrams received by the Congress calling on deputies to do their duty responsibly; many of them focus on the importance of the Union treaty issue; others with subjects such as human rights, the guilt of the Communist Party, the need for recognition of Baltic independence, availability of food and consumer goods. He offers some clarification on the presence of guests at the congress. Zhirinovskiy of Liberal Democratic Party has been admitted. He ends by announcing that the Drafting Commission is to begin a meeting now, and adding other announcements.

At 0717 GMT Nazarbayev announces that Turkmen President Niyazov is to speak first. Niyazov outlines his view of the arrangements needed to be reached concerning the presence of troops in the republic, using a folk story to make the point that Gorbachev should not have stones thrown at him, rather be worked with.

The next speaker takes the platform on behalf of autonomous units in Russia, and calls for recognition of the autonomous regions within Russia and a review of the borders between territories. He asks that the small nations of the north be given greater guarantees of recognition.

At 0730 GMT Deputy Mitat Tegimur ogly Abasov from Azerbaijan takes the floor and calls the presence of troops in Georgia and the Baltics a dress rehearsal for the August events in Moscow. He says the Congress has to recognize the independence of the republics which have proclaimed it, including Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan supports the idea of an economic community among the former Soviet states. Abasov wants the independent republics to have full control over the autonomous areas within them. Azerbaijan is also in tune with the other republics which have declared independence in respect of issues such as the military.

Deputy Vitaliy Alekseyevich Chelyshev speaks at 0735 GMT, reiterating the aims of the Congress as being to find a way forward for the republics within a set of laws on a democratic basis. He says that while the Procuracy and the courts should be in place to settle conflicts among the republics, the army had a role to play as a regulator of interrepublican relations. He adds that people should be cooperating for the people.

Next, Kadriddin Aslonovich Aslonov, Chairman of the Tajik Supreme Soviet, explains the current position of Tajikistan, which is awaiting Presidential elections in October, and explains that as the republic's economy is based on production of raw materials Tajikistan sees sovereignty as a political issue but wants an immediate economic agreement between republics.

At 0745 GMT Deputy Aleksandr Grigoryevich Zhuravlev speaks. [See this section for Zhuravlev's speech.]

Valerian Sergeyevich Advadze from Georgia speaks next. He sees the emergence of the people as a new political force following the August coup and sums up the current state of the country, economically and politically. The military being withdrawn from abroad are returning to face an uncertain future. He says that all conditions which could give rise to a coup in the future must be eradicated, the independence of all republics should be recognized, and a series of treaties signed between all 15 republics on the creation of a single economic space, on national security, on ecological issues and on human rights. These treaties should form the basis of the new community of nations, which would develop in a planned, civilized fashion and avoid the possibility of mass resettlement of peoples.

Deputy Vladimir Aleksandrovich Shapovalenko speaks at 0758 GMT. He discusses the structure and role of a supreme council. As a Russian deputy, he says he had to vote for the Russian government's resolution but in practical terms he sees a need for a supreme body to oversee such matters as ecology and weaponry, including nuclear weapons. He welcomes the closure by Kazakhstan of the Semipalatinsk site. He reminds deputies that changing the superstructure of the system does not necessarily mean changing the infrastructure.

Before calling the next speaker, Nazarbayev reads remarks from a deputy calling for specific resolutions to be discussed.

Roy Medvedev takes the floor at 0804 GMT. [See this section for Medvedev's speech.] Congress gives Medvedev a couple of extra minutes to speak. He calls for the creation of strong democratic parties acting within the constitution and for internal troops not to be used as an instrument to settle conflict.

Marina Nikolayevna Rakhmanova takes the floor on behalf of the Group for Constructive Cooperation to stress the difference in approach to settling issues separating men and women. She says women have a lot to offer, not being distracted by politics in the large sense, but rather concentrating on the basic issues from a moral point of view. She calls for a Women's Chamber in any future parliament, to help men, not to supplant them.

Vladimir Mikhaylovich Desyatov is the next speaker at 0818 GMT. He recalls Sakharov's call at the first Congress of People's Deputies for the power structure to be put in place first and says that should have been done. Likewise, Gorbachev's rejection of the 500-Day program was not heard by the Congress, which was too busy with its own affairs. He says he wants to have some new kind of parliament through a union treaty with one head of state, one authority for defense. He says that once the parliament and the union treaty are in place, there should be elections and the Deputies should dissolve themselves.

Sergey Pavlovich Zalygin speaks at 0824. He highlights independence as the main topic of the moment, although this cannot exist in a vacuum. He says that the Union does not exist even now, because republics had declared their independence. He goes on to talk in detail about the way in which their debates would pale beside the criminal ecological damage inflicted on nature. He supports independence for the republics, which he says is inevitable.

Arkadiy Petrovich Yanenko speaks from 0831 GMT and looks at the motivation of the anti-constitutional plotters—the need for radical improvement in the country's dire economic situation, the need to stem rising crime, all of which became public in the perestroika period. The president has to combine political work with economic management, an area where Gorbachev has performed poorly, he notes. Gorbachev has left the helm of the CPSU at a critical time. Yanenko calls for a collegial council, headed by Gorbachev, to run the country. He is critical of Supreme Soviet deputies' accusations that Lukyanov manipulated votes and reminds everyone that people like Lukyanov have one vote each, the other votes are in the hall. He proposes that Yeltsin be a Hero of the Soviet Union.

Olzhas Omarovich Suleymenov takes the floor at 0837 GMT and questions who would take supreme responsibility if the Congress dissolves itself. He recognizes that the USSR does not exist as it was but says that everyone should understand the need for relations among the republics on equal terms along the lines of the European parliament, coupled with the need for a President. It is necessary to retain Gorbachev for an interim period in this post. Fairness should be the way for a federative formation. Suleymenov illustrates his views by recalling how Kazakhstan acted on the people's mandate to close down the Semipalatinsk nuclear site. Independence is not an aim in itself, he states, but a step on the way to self-awareness. There should be a new interrepublican economic organization, he concludes.

At 0845 GMT Mikhail Lazarevich Bronshteyn speaks. [See this section for Bronshteyn's speech.]

Nataliya Reshetova, from the Zhizn (Life) group of deputies, speaks at 0853 GMT. She notes that no women took part in the August coup attempt, although it was women who had most to lose from the effects of it, in economic terms and in terms of having no confidence in the future. Reshetova speaks at some length about the need for people's trust in institutions.

At 0902 GMT Nazarbayev set in motion a vote on the list of candidates already in the deputies' possession for the commission to work on the legal issues raised. While voting is in progress, he announces a session of the Mandate Commission in the interval and says that the Kyrgyz premier is to be the first to speak after a 30-minute break. The vote is not completed before the end of the relay.

At 0940 GMT Nazarbayev reads a message from deputies to Popov asking for Moscow authorities to deal with rowdy crowds gathering on Red Square after sessions. He calls on Isanov to speak; to be followed by Yeltsin.

At 0941 GMT Isanov, prime minister of Kyrgyzstan, says it is difficult to sort all the problems out at a Congress. He suggests a future parliament of 300-400 people to steer the ship of state. Replying to Obolenskiy's speech, he says that what we need today is not to replace the president—Gorbachev is already a new president, and it was he, rather than the party, that started perestroika. The interrepublic economic council needs to be formed and get to work quickly. It must not become another debating club. Isanov agrees with the proposal to reform the army, KGB, and interior ministry. Military districts should be formed according to republics. Perhaps one of the capitals of the USSR or RSFSR should be transferred to Leningrad, he concludes.

At 0946 GMT Yeltsin is called to speak. [See the Congress of People's Deputies section of the 4 September Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for Yeltsin's speech.]

At 0955 GMT Deputy Shchelkanov from Leningrad, speaking on his own behalf, complains that the Congress has been railroaded. The constitution and standing orders have been flouted, he states. He goes on to criticize the composition of the Editorial Commission and the Presidium.

At 1000 GMT Deputy Likhachev speaks for the Academy group of deputies. We are here not just to make law, but also to establish what is going on in society, he states. The preservation of the Union is the most important thing right now. This has to be clear not just in the hall, but everywhere in the country. People must be told in simple language why, not in the language of "economic spaces" and "unified defenses". The country's common culture is still alive and can unify it; Likhachev names various figures and literary works that have belonged to the whole country, not merely to individual ethnic regions. We don't want to build Berlin Walls between our peoples. Our scientific and cultural heritage must be preserved. Unity with equality of all peoples, rather than all republics, must be our goal. Likhachev suggests a preamble to the resolution explaining in plain language why it is desirable to preserve unity.

At 1009 GMT Deputy (Chelnokov) says that deputies must face up to the dissolution of the Congress and Supreme Soviet. They have not been able to survive the principle of division between legislative and executive authority, something that helped make the coup possible. He says that the claims that dissolution is unconstitutional are incorrect. There is in effect no union any more, and can be no supreme body. Efforts to keep it together have accelerated the decay. If the old structures remain, we will end up with total civil war, like Yugoslavia, he notes. In the transitional period, all we need is some executive authorities, not a legislative body.

At 1013 GMT Deputy Krayko says that the competing power of the republics and the center could not carry on forever. What we now need is equal representation of all republics in controlling bodies. We should continue to have a president, and Gorbachev as president, and also a Supreme Soviet. We must not allow the suppression of dissent. He recalls the days of Vyshinskiy, one of Stalin's appointments. For all the courage of the defenders of the Russian parliament, the White House, a vast proportion of citizens were indifferent in the face of the coup, he notes. All who hold democracy dear must defend it and condemn any persecutions and attribution of guilt without any trial. He recalls further examples from the times of Stalin's repressions.

At 1019 GMT Asatiani, chairman of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, says he is authorized to speak for the Georgian president and parliament. Several polls have been held in Georgia, and all have been in favor of independence. Five republics have not signed the statement; the Baltic republics are already going their own way, and Moldova wishes to be united with Romania. The coup resulted from lack of clarity about the political course; if the economic agreement now on offer is clear enough, Georgia will sign it. As for the political process, a certain Balkanization is already under way. We have no complaints about any other republics, and not against Russia. We feel the common bonds of culture, and remember our common struggle against fascism, he concludes.

At 1028 GMT deputy (Petrovopik) from the Ukraine says the tsarist empire collapsed because it was a prison for peoples. The junta failed because it wanted to preserve unity where there could not be unity. He criticizes other speakers who want to preserve a Russian-dominated empire. All peoples must be free, he asserts. Independent, the Ukraine will not only survive, it will prosper, he states in conclusion.

At 1033 GMT Burlatskiy speaks in support of the structures proposed for running the country. But the resolution should include a preamble outlining the aims of a democratic system.

At 1038 GMT trades union chief Vladimir Shcherbakov speaks. The people's view of democracy and our society has changed, he states. We now need to build a new state, quickly, on democratic principles. The collapse of the country would be a catastrophe. The statement by the President and republican leaders is a bold and necessary move, he adds. The task of the Congress is to create a new Union of sovereign states. People cannot live without confidence in the future. The economy must be strengthened by sensible economic moves within a unified state. Shcherbakov speaks of the injustice whereby republics are taking over holiday facilities without compensating those who invested in them.

At 1044 GMT Deputy Balayan from Karabakh refers to the coup and the sacrifices it brought about, but says that

there is no let-up in the sacrifices in his homeland. He goes on to list some Armenian-populated villages which have been destroyed.

He appeals to Yeltsin to do something about the continuing fighting in Nagorno-Karabakh. There are shouts from the hall and an irate deputy shouts from the floor. Balayan is drowned out by the bell but Balayan attempts to continue his speech. Balayan says that without a solution to the Karabakh issue the country's problems will not be solved.

An unidentified deputy protests about how the Congress is being conducted. She says Balayan should be classed with the coup leaders.

At 1052 GMT deputy Stepanova calls for deputies to be more honest and humane. A large number of deputies are seen leaving the hall.

At 1053 GMT deputy (Dzhaburov) from Tajikistan recalls references to the Serbo-Croat conflict. He says deputies have to admit that the Union structure has been wrong from the outset. A new and proper Union should be set up. He backs yesterday's statement by Gorbachev and the republic's leaders. It is the correct path. It will give the republics the freedom they desire, he states.

At 1100 GMT Nazarbayev makes announcements. There have been requests for the debate to be curtailed. A break is announced until 1300 GMT.

The proceedings resume after the scheduled break.

At 1311 GMT deputies are called on to register by Shushkevich, who is chairing the sitting. The board shows 1,597 present, providing the necessary quorum of 1,483.

At 1312 GMT the floor is given to Drafting Commission chairman Tatarchuk, who describes the commission's arrangements for receiving material.

At 1314 GMT Spiridonov speaks. He recalls the efforts made by the autonomous republics in particular for maintaining the union. He proceeds to read a statement saying that the former autonomous republics resent the way their drive to sovereignty has been cut short by the coup events. The statement is signed by Khasbulatov and the leaders of a number of autonomous republics in the RSFSR.

At 1318 GMT Vyacheslav Bimbayev takes the rostrum to read a statement from leaders of national territories and formations, taking issue with the statement from the country's leadership submitted yesterday and offering alternative proposals.

At 1321 GMT Ivan Silayev is called on to speak to make a statement on behalf of the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy in the USSR. [See the Congress of People's Deputies section of the 4 September Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for Silayev's speech.]

At 1331 GMT the chairman reads a statement from a group of 89 deputies representing agricultural workers, emphasizing the difficult conditions in which farmers are operating in the context of the food crisis.

At 1332 GMT Stepan Stepanovich Sulakshin takes the rostrum to decry utterances yesterday by Obelenskiy. Such ideas represent the "fantasy" of the old days, he states. The only way the old union can be retained is by the use of tanks, as we saw with the State Committee for the State of Emergency. We have to move on to new structures for the interim period. We in parliament cannot stand back from the realities of life. We have to support the leaders' statement, he concludes.

At 1339 GMT Georgiy Sergeyevich Russu takes the rostrum, speaking on behalf of sovereign and independent Moldova. The statement provides serious food for thought, he says. Undoubtedly the statement contains points with which nobody will disagree, but Moldova has to evaluate the statement in the light of its own independent status. He recalls how Lukyanov once tried to apply "divide and rule" tactics to persuade Moldova to join the Union treaty. Nevertheless, Moldova came out on the side of democracy at the time of the coup, despite the activities of the Dniestr and Gagauz republics.

At 1343 GMT a deputy intervenes from the floor, demanding that the debate be cut short. The chairman gives the floor to deputy Yuriy Fedorovich Karyakin.

Karyakin hails Russia's heroism in standing up to the coup. He asks how Gorbachev's about-face from old ways to new ones came about in the days immediately after the coup. Has Gorbachev really become Novo-Gorbachev? he asks. He goes on to point the finger at other individuals asking where their real allegiances lie—with God or with communism, for instance. The hall starts to display impatience with him; the chairman tries to cut him short and he ends his speech.

At 1350 GMT Eduard Gennadiyevich Kozin takes the rostrum. Our congress has to recognize republics' independence declarations, otherwise bloodshed will mount, he states. Then during the interim period the peoples will themselves what comes next. The USSR President is needed for the oment to hold things together. Whether he is necessary in the onger term only time will show. Kozin ends by listing a number of concrete proposals, then calls for support for the leaders' statement.

At 1357 GMT Galina Petrovna Gracheva takes the rostrum, calling for defense of the Constitution as long as it still exists. Most of us are democratically minded, she adds, and as deputies we should display professionalism.

At 1400 GMT Chairman Shushkevich announces that only 17 people of 66 who have applied to speak have so far spoken, but there is pressure to draw the debate to a close. He proposes that there should be two more interventions—from a Donbass representative and from Gorbachev. He calls a vote on this, which is passed by 1482 to 119.

Donbass representative Viktor Vasilyevich Goncharov takes the rostrum.

At 1403 GMT Goncharov speaks on the recent events and miners' reaction to them. Goncharov continues his call for defense of democracy and for respect for the outcome of the referendum in the Ukraine. His concrete proposals include a suggestion that the renewal of bodies of authority should proceed from bottom to top. And let us go along with Gorbachev now, he concludes.

At 1410 GMT Gorbachev comes to the rostrum. [See the Congress of People's Deputies section of the 4 September Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for Gorbachev's speech.] Gorbachev concludes speaking at 1426 GMT.

At 1428 GMT Shushkevich invites Gidaspov, chairman of the Credentials Commission, to speak on changes in the composition of the Congress since the fourth Congress. Gidaspov comes to the rostrum and reads the relevant details.

At 1435 GMT Shushkevich calls a vote to approve the new deputies listed in the report from the Credentials Commission, which is passed.

Next, Shushkevich reminds deputies that the resolution to be voted on tomorrow will be available this evening and that they should make use of this last evening for serious consideration of it.

At 1438 GMT Azerbaijani deputy Anar Rzayev comes to the rostrum to remind the congress of the continuing conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh and read a statement from Azerbaijan deputies, deploring remarks made earlier by Armenian deputy Balayan, and calling on the chairman of the Congress not to allow the Congress to be sidetracked from its purpose.

At 1442 GMT Shushkevich refers to rumors about events in Tbilisi and calls on Saunin, chairman of the Congress Secretariat, to report on what is known. Saunin reads a statement signed by Interior Minister Baranikov describing a clash between demonstrators and militia there yesterday evening.

Saunin next provides answers to several procedural matters which have been queried, including why representatives of certain political parties were invited, and the finer points of the electronic voting system.

At 1448 GMT Shushkevich reads various announcements, and announces that tomorrow's meeting will begin at 0700 GMT.

At that point the relay ends.

Abasov Critical of Armenian 'Republic'

LD0309143591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0730 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Speech by Deputy Mitat Teygmur ogly Abasov at the extraordinary session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies in the Kremlin in Moscow—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed deputies of the USSR and of the republics, esteemed guests of the congress. [passage omitted]

The reluctance of the top organs of state power of the USSR to give a political and judicial evaluation of the January events in Baku created a sense of impunity among the main culprits of the Baku tragedy. It is now clear that the introduction of troops into Tbilisi, Baku, and Vilnius was a dress rehearsal for the reactionary forces to start a decisive offensive against the democracy achieved by the people of this country as a whole, and that was precisely what happened in Moscow in August this year. [passage omitted]

As for the contents of the actual statement, we believe that the congress must express its attitude toward the declarations of independence by republics. In our view, that attitude must be positive if we wish to build a really democratic community of sovereign states. [passage omitted]

At the same time we still believe in the preservation of our economic, political, and cultural relations with all the republics which are part of the Union. However, from now on these relations must be built on a genuine equal rights basis which must rule out any sort of diktat and subordination, regardless of where these might come from. I believe that the final document to be adopted must underscore for every republic the principles of respect, noninterference in its internal affairs, and of freedom for each republic to choose any socioeconomic system it wishes. The document must also enshrine as the most important, the principles guaranteeing territorial integrity and recognition of the inviolability of the existing borders. [passage omitted]

Adoption of these principles can ensure a smooth and bloodless transition of the totalitarian empire to a democratic community of independent states. We support the idea of an economic community among the republics of the Union based on the principles of each republic pursuing an independent economic policy, and of the existing economic relations being preserved and developed on a mutually beneficial basis. It has been proposed at the congress that the final document must somehow enshrine the rights of autonomous republics. We believe that questions concerning the status of autonomous formations should be solely within the competence of sovereign states, and any attempt to formulate the issue differently will mean interference in their internal affairs and can destroy the whole system of agreements which is now taking shape. And that is indeed how one can regard yesterday's unsanctioned announcement about creating the Nagorno-Karabakh republic of Armenia on the territory of Azerbaijan. We categorically reject it. Its sole purpose is to torpedo the dialogue being established between the Azerbaijani and the Armenian communities.

For lack of time to outline our position in any greater detail, we would like to say that we agree with some

fundamental views expressed by the representatives of other republics in respect of military construction, political documents on human rights, and others. The views which I have expressed in my speech reflect the collective opinion of the USSR people's deputies on behalf of Azerbaijan and the people's deputies of the Azerbaijani republic who are taking part in the work of the congress. We will submit our proposals for the congress draft decision. Thank you for your attention.

Zhuravlev Warns of 'Great Disaster'

LD0309092491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0745 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Speech by Deputy Aleksandr Grigoriyevich Zhuravlev at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] We are all now threatened by a great disaster, if we do not have the courage to resist it. [passage omitted]

You are now watching the third act of a play. We know that in a play it is always the third act that is the most dramatic and if we do not make this play a play with a happy ending, if there is no fourth act, and we don't make up our minds over this, then there is a tragedy in store for us and for the country. I am saying this because I recognize well the handwriting of my colleagues. The scenario of this play is being written by analysts of the system. I am also an analyst of the system; the only difference between us is that they ask riddles and I guess the answers to those riddles. [passage omitted]

Our president has a favorite saying: The idea has been floated, and the process is underway. I do not know where the idea comes from, but it is of purely British manufacture: Divide and rule. If they divide us, they will rule. So we must be very careful and think about what sort of union we are about to create. The fact is that according to the plans that have been put before us, the drafts for the Union treaty, the country, the union as a country, cannot be created. It will not be a country, it will not be a state; and you are being deceived yet again when they say you'll be deputies until the end of your term. You will cease to be deputies a few days after the Union treaty is signed, because you can't be a deputy of a nonexistent country. A country such as is envisaged by this draft of the Union treaty [applause] does not and cannot exist. The territory of one country cannot be at the same time the territory of another country. The capital of one state cannot be at the same time the capital of another. So the capital of the country conceived according to the Union treaty can only be Novo-Ogarevo.

We have to be very careful now. Only we can save ourselves. I agree entirely with everything that was said here yesterday by Aleksandr Mitrofanovich Obolenskiy. It's another matter what we should do about our president. I don't know how he is exactly. Only a court will

decide that—possibly only the court of history. [scattered applause] But everything will depend on what he does now: Whether he will behave like a democrat or as a bureaucrat who has hidden his face. I am a Communist—a convinced Communist. [passage omitted]

In order to dismember us, they may play not only on our ethnic, but also on our religious feelings. [passage omitted]

On no account must we dissolve the Supreme Soviet. It must discharge its duty. So we must preserve the Supreme Soviet, renew it, and go on working to democratize our country. Then our long-suffering and still great country will be saved. Our country will be saved and we will be saved. Thank you. [applause]

Medvedev 'Shocked' at Session

LD030904391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0804 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Speech by deputy Roy Aleksandrovich Medvedev at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies session in the Kremlin—Live]

[Text] Dear comrade deputies. Esteemed presidium. I speak here on behalf of the parliamentary group of communists, the work of which, it would seem, is not yet prohibited and has not been suspended either by the president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic or by the president of the USSR. Although, in connection with the alteration to the agenda, I do have to change the theme and length of my speech, making it shorter.

Our country has been seriously ill for a long time, although, as they say, the rumors of its death are strongly exaggerated. Since 1985, many treatments have been applied, but we have been changing the prescription for these treatments so incautiously and quickly that the situation of the country and the life of all its peoples have continued and do continue to deteriorate without interruption. We also changed methods in 1991, starting a new round in the treatment of the country and society, now using the shock therapy method that was previously shunned. There was a small shock for the country at the beginning, with the implementation of the monetary reform; April's price rises were a much bigger shock; we experienced a terrible shock during the coup d'etat.

But the joy of victory is also darkened for many people by the wave of illegal actions and the intensive anticommunist campaign that has started everywhere. It came as a shock for many people when Comrade Gorbachev resigned from the post of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and called for the disbandment of the Central Committee, something that Yeltsin's resolution said had already happened. I state here that the Central Committee has never adopted any decision on self-disbandment, and I hope it never will. And the confiscation, in effect, of party property and funds that is going on everywhere is also a shock.

We were shocked by yesterday's session of the Congress of People's Deputies, when both individual articles of the Constitution and the Congress standing orders were violated right from the start. It looks a bit strange both from the hall and from outside, the way that the top representatives of executive authority sitting in the presidium are not reporting to the Congress—which together with the Supreme Soviet is the supreme legislative body—but are lecturing and admonishing the legislators. And there are no representatives of autonomous republics in the working presidium.

What can one say about the draft Congress resolution that is recommended to us? To begin with, one should not introduce any new forms of authority that nobody understands, if it is possible to reform what already exists, while preserving continuity of power and of the constitution. The Supreme Soviet should exist, as has already been said, and the Federal Council, and the State Council. What is the purpose, for example, of such a hasty replacement of the government, or the Cabinet, or the USSR Council of Ministers, by such a difficult-to-understand name that we heard in this proposal—the inter-republican committee of all republics on a basis of parity? That's not very simple, and prestige of power often depends on words, on titles.

Note that yesterday there was not a single instance of the two thirds of votes needed to adopt a constitutional law of this kind. Some two or three hundred people were not voting. And this is connected first and foremost with the form of proceedings of the session, rather than the substance of the proposals. [passage omitted]

However illegal and criminal the totalitarian regime may have been in our country, destroying all other political parties and trends not only politically but also physically, including political trends within the party itself, today's removal of the Communist Party, in effect, the suspension of its activities, is equally illegal and tyrannical, as is the arbitrary deprivation of all its material funds. [passage omitted]

May democracy overcome its divisions into dozens of parties, and may the democrats form a strong democratic party, or two parties. Give communists the opportunity to work peaceably, without going beyond the framework of legality and the constitution. May it not be tanks or any internal troops of Russia that decide the issues of political trends and debate. On this I end. This is the Congress of People's Deputies, and it should not be forgotten that it was the party that recommended and participated in the creation of this body.

Estonian Delegate on Baltics

LD0309102791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0845 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Speech by Deputy Mikhail Lazarovich Bronshteyn at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies session in Moscow—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] I am a deputy representing Estonia. We have said more than once from this platform that it is necessary to recognize the historical fact that in relation to the Baltic region, the methods of state banditry were applied. Why is it so important now to recognize independence? Because force was used in relation to sovereign states, toward subjects of international law. Without acknowledgement of that fact, World War II is not over. The sooner we do this, the sooner we will fulfil our human duty, the duty of deputies; and by doing so we will open a completely new page of friendly relations of the Baltics with the other republics and with the Soviet Union, which will be reformed. The Baltics cannot go anywhere: it is connected geopolitically. I am sure that it will be a member of the economic treaty, that it will participate in common programs. Talks were held on this in the summer and there were no objections. [passage omitted]

Nazarbayev Reads Protection Appeal

LD0309124691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0940 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Remarks by session chairman, Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev, at the extraordinary session of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin in Moscow—live]

[Text] While deputies are taking their seats, I would like to read an appeal to the Presidium from People's Deputies:

We, people's deputies of the USSR, demand that the Mayor of the City of Moscow Gavriil Kharitonovich Popov take the necessary measures to protect us from being insulted and humiliated by the crowd of people that gathers before and after the work of the Congress on the capital's Red Square.

There are several such notes. We have instructed the commandant of the Kremlin to establish order inside the Kremlin and have asked Gavriil Kharitonovich also to take measures regarding this matter.

Plea for Autonomous Formations

LD0309180791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1314 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Address by Deputy Yuriy Alekseyevich Spiridonov at the extraordinary session of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed Congress! I have instructions to deliver a statement from a number of republican leaders. Before I read it, I would like to say a couple of words. The document with which we were acquainted at the opening of the congress inspires the thought that the processes of democratizing society, the processes of national self-awareness, the processes of developing statehood have affected only the Union republics. Over this period many former autonomous formations have declared

their sovereignty. Perhaps the strength of Russia actually lies in the fact that she, first among the Union republics, recognized these sovereignties, and unlike the Supreme Soviet of the Union and the other republics, she enshrined this sovereign right of peoples to their statehood within Russia, constitutionally, in May. The autonomous formations, the former autonomous formations, just like the other Union republics, have done a very great deal of work in preserving the Union, and I regret very much that the Novo-Ogarevo process was stopped, or interrupted. And so, permit me, in this regard, to read out a statement:

The suppression of the coup has opened up prospects for the development of democratic processes. This should also affect the situation of the country's republics, nations, and peoples. Equal democratic relations between nations and republics should be established in the new conditions. At the same time, the draft document under discussion, where a council of representatives of people's deputies is proposed on the principle of equal representation from the Union republics, has found no room for the former autonomous republics. Such an approach will be incomprehensible to the peoples of our republics, the more so as the former autonomous republics have from the very outset been active supporters of preserving a renewed union. The signing of the treaty, including by delegations of the former autonomous republics, was, as you know, frustrated by the anticonstitutional coup. We have no wish to be the hostages of this putsch and its aftermath. We consider the inclusion of people's deputies from the former autonomous republics on the council of representatives to be essential. It is necessary to determine their appropriate role and place as state formations in all of the Union structures being set up on a provisional basis at this extraordinary USSR Congress of People's Deputies. The original correlation of representation in the Supreme Soviet from the Union and the autonomous republics could be taken as a basis. Having said so much about sovereignty, democracy, and independence, we cannot embark on worsening the current national and political situation of the republics in the USSR. Relations of friendship and cooperation between peoples can only be built on democratic, equal foundations. We are counting on understanding for our position from the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

The statement has been signed by: Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet; and the chairmen of the supreme soviets of the former autonomous republics: Bashkortostan—Rakhimov; Daghestan—Magomedov, Karelian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]—Stepanov; Komi SSR—Spiridonov; Mari—(Zorin), Morodovian SSR—Biryukov; Tatarstan—Shaymiyev; Yakut-Sakha SSR—Nikolayev; and representative of the Supreme Soviet of Tva—Ondar. Thank you for your attention.

Further on 2 Sep Congress Proceedings

Travkin on Powers to State Council

LD0209175691 Moscow Central Television First
Program Network in Russian 1325 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Speech by People's Deputy Nikolay Ilyich Travkin at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed people's deputies! I am expressing not just my own opinion but also the opinion of the Democratic Party of Russia. And since you and we have different information—we've been represented as destroyers of the union; we are consistent supporters of the union. And not of the one that existed, that is yet to be born, but supporters of the state [gosudarstvenniki], essentially. I, for example, don't understand the word community [sodruzhestvo]. I don't understand it. We can, and do, have a friendship [druzhit] with Britain, but for some reason it's a friendship at world prices. Perhaps some republics consider that community means friendship with Russia at home prices too, but Russia is hardly likely to agree with that.

So I am convinced that very quickly we shall arrive at the Union, and the Union with a constitution and a center that is powerful but limited in its functions. But in order to arrive at that Union, we need to find some sort of machinery that will be able to produce both a treaty—consequently—and a draft constitution; in other words, to implement the actual machinery of transition. And in my view the Congress of People's Deputies cannot serve as such machinery for one reason: It lacks the confidence of the voters, the confidence of the people—and that confidence will not be given back to it.

Such a body having initial confidence from all the peoples today is the Council of the Federation, for which there is a proposal to transfer it to the status of state council [gossovet]. And I agree entirely with that. Moreover, in my view, the state council must have, as one of the last instructions from the Congress, a deadline by which it must produce a treaty. It seems to me that that deadline could be 1 October. All those republics that have not yet held referendums and have not determined by referendum whether they will remain in the union or not, could join an existing treaty and an existing union; and the signing could begin before 1 October. Before 1 October, the state council, with the help of experts, could draw up a law on the election—on a multiparty basis—of a union legislative body, and a law on the election of the USSR president. And in early spring—March-April—we could hold those elections. But for this, the state council needs powers. And the Congress could transfer its plenary powers to it, as to the supreme body of the country, and dissolve itself. And the Supreme Soviet of the present USSR would, of course, dissolve itself at the same time. [passage omitted]

Not a single republic will implement the state council's decisions if it radically contradicts its interests. That is,

today we have bodies of control for the transitional period we have to go through. And consequently, from the technical point of view, if we transfer plenary powers to the state council, the issue of the soviet of representatives of people's deputies falls away.

Where is another danger of forming such a body, in my view? As soon as we create a prototype of a new legislative body, the same apparatus of the Supreme Soviet and the Presidium created by Anatoliy Ivanovich [Lukyanov] and his gang will get hold of it. [passage omitted]

And yet another issue, the issue of recognizing or not recognizing the independence of republics at our Congress. The issue about recognizing the independence of the Baltic republics does not exist for me. We must do this. Regarding all the other republics, when Comrade Kravchuk said in his speech that peoples had determined their will ... I know that in the Ukraine the people have determined their will in the following way: It seems that more than 80 percent are in favor of staying within the Union. Therefore, the declaration of independence by a whole number of republics is not the people's opinion for the time being, but the opinion of Supreme Soviets. All must hold referendums, and they should be held taking into account, well, autonomous or, in some instances, they have been upgraded to republican status. If today Comrade Snegur, Mr. Snegur, together with his parliamentaries decides to join Romania, then why should the entire Prydnestrovye Republic join Romania, too? I do not understand such things.

Therefore, each republic must hold a referendum. After they have carried it out and made a decision, then next morning borders should be changed. Democracy cannot exist with an open door—when some people set up customs houses. Nothing is permitted to be exported from us since we are independent; while from Russia it is permitted. Let us play fair. And the council, the state council can solve such issues until we sign a Union treaty. Thank you.

Blokhin Urges Halt to 'Witch Hunt'

LD0209171891 Moscow Central Television First
Program Network in Russian 1431 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Speech by USSR People's Deputy Yuriy Vitalyevich Blokhin at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow—live]

[Text] Well, it's quite difficult to react to the situation which has formed in this hall in such a short time. Yesterday we had one agenda, today we have another, so perhaps not everything will sound altogether well composed. Taking into account the development of events at the congress, I should like to say the following:

We, the representatives of the Soyuz deputies' group, are ready for the broadest of dialogues, the most serious

compromises with any groups or other forces represented at the congress, as long as the result is the preservation of the union of republics.

Events of recent days have demonstrated quite definitely what grief could result for the people from an uncontrolled decay of the Union state. There are more than enough examples for this—the exacerbation of inter-republican relations in this period, and the interethnic conflicts in a number of regions of our country. In connection with this, it seems possible to agree to the proposal, to the search for the body that could somehow harmonize this living together. And it seems to us that it would be correct to think about not a state council, but about a coalition government of popular trust, which, as is known, has shown its merits in a number of countries in East Europe. Such a government would include representation not only of the members from the governments of republics, but also of the biggest movements, with various socio-political orientations. Through its efforts, such a plenipotentiary body would be able to somehow formulate a truly effective program for the survival of the country, one which everybody could understand. It is the thing which would make it possible to insure civil peace in our country.

Second: The whole world, and our press, too, conceals nothing when it calls the coup strange and illogical, and the behavior of the putschists something that contradicts the most elementary logic. Of course, there is a need to sort out very seriously what it is all about. But such an investigation is, again, only possible if the Union state and the USSR Constitution are preserved. Because you cannot charge people with treason against the state if there is no state. History has seen many coups, successful and unsuccessful, but nowhere in history has a coup made the issue of the state and statehood subject to revision. So, I propose that the congress recognize the supremacy of the USSR Constitution and USSR laws throughout the country's territory for the whole period of transition, and make it obligatory for them to be strictly implemented with a special resolution of the congress.

Third: We must all recognize that the coup has faced society with the prospect of a civil war. And this is possible, a most terrible thing. Here, action equals reaction—violation of the law leads to a chain reaction of illegality. And over recent days too much that is illegal has been perpetrated. We have not avoided it at today's congress, since it opened. (As an example of) violation of all international legal norms, the CPSU has been disbanded. In itself, this is not anything so very extraordinary among the events of today. But from the legal point of view, a very dangerous precedent has arisen. I refer to a precedent for collective liability. Meanwhile, according to all the rules of world laws, only those whose guilt has been proved can be held liable. And guilt means conscious participation in the plot. But we know how insidiously the coup was constructed. The president was replaced by the vice president, there was an announcement about Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev being ill and resigning. All the top state personages of the country

took part in the coup, the closest and most trusted people around the USSR president. I won't list the names. I simply ask myself a question in connection with this: What could people who were not at the very top, and who did not have direct contact with the country's president, understand in this situation? Absolutely nothing, and it is absurd to make blanket accusations against them all just because they followed orders from above. This is the direct route to a witch hunt.

I think that here at the congress, we must restore the legal procedures in this matter, and all the more, eliminate a situation whereby tens or even hundreds of thousands of perfectly innocent people, who were carrying out direct instructions from their own bosses, have for some reason to answer for the actions of a few leaders. Otherwise, we will inevitably arrive at a terror, first a legal one and then a physical one. You only have to discard the presumption of innocence once, and declare the idea of collective responsibility, for there to follow the chain reaction of terror and illegality that nobody will be able to halt. In connection with this, I propose a special congress resolution to put an end to local persecution and to punish the immediate organizers and persons who knowingly in the plot. Comrades, my time has run out. Thank you for your attention.

Gorbachev Answers Questions on Congress

LD0309171391 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1632 GMT 3 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow, 3 September (TASS)—Following the evening session of the Congress of People's Deputies, USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev found himself surrounded by reporters.

"What kind of union will there be after tomorrow's congress?" came the question.

"I have already said how I see it in my speech at the congress. I stand for the formula of a union of sovereign states," Mikhail Gorbachev said. "What will you do if the congress does not support your joint statement with the leaders of the republics?"

"I think that the congress will then exhaust itself," was the president's reply.

Correspondents were interested in the future fate of the Baltic republics. "This is not a matter for the congress," Mikhail Gorbachev replied. "If it were necessary to decide only the issue of the Baltic, then it would have been unnecessary to convene the congress. There are other opportunities for this. The congress is deciding the fate of the whole state, the fate of 300 million people living in it; it is deciding where the world generally is heading."

Denies '10 Plus 1' Another Coup

OW0309185891 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1600 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] During a break at the Congress of People's Deputies Tuesday Mikhail Gorbachev told reporters that he "categorically denies any attempts to describe the 10+1 statement as another coup". "Such accusations carry a suggestion of political demagoguery. We presented to the congress everything we've worked out jointly and we hope for cooperation with deputies", he pointed out. "If we continue wasting time by chatting a lot, we'll return to the past", Mr. Gorbachev noted.

He also said that the statement gives the country a chance to get out of the crisis and carry out democratic reforms.

Assesses Union Treaty Chances

LD0309134391 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1320 GMT 3 Sep 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Sep (TASS)—The chance to sign a treaty between the Union republics has not been lost. This was how USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev answered questions from Soviet and foreign journalists today on the future of our country. Representatives of the press literally surrounded him after the end of the afternoon session of the Congress of People's Deputies.

Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that the smashing of the coup creates favorable opportunities for carrying out radical reforms in many areas of life, including in the field of building a union on a new basis.

The USSR president spent almost eight minutes answering numerous questions from correspondents during this impromptu press conference outside the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.

Estonian Deputies Propose Independence Decree

LD0309200491 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network
in Estonian 1700 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Juhan Aare report on the USSR Congress of People's Deputies extraordinary session on 2 September]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] At 1645 Indrek Toome handed over to President Mikhail Gorbachev the address signed by 36 USSR people's deputies elected from Estonia. All of them who had come to Moscow had signed it, with the exception of one of them, and that was Yevgeniy Kogan [Inter-Movement activist]. He did not agree to sign a document proposing to Mikhail Gorbachev that he issue a presidential decree on the day of the Congress in respect of recognizing Estonia's independence as a state, while also recognizing as legally void the inclusion of the Republic of Estonia—a member of the

League of Nations—in the USSR in 1939-1940. The above-mentioned document contains a proposal to the president to continue without delay talks between the USSR and the Republic of Estonia. At the same time we expressed a hope that the USSR will not create any obstacles to restoring the position of the Republic of Estonia as a subject of international law.

Indrek Toome also had a brief conversation with the president, and the main message of it is as follows: Mikhail Gorbachev made it understood that he will be endeavoring to find the most suitable moment for putting the recognition of the independence of the Baltic state to the vote at the Congress, which opened today. [passage omitted]

Sobchak Urges 'Civilized' Sovereignty Talks

LD0209215791 Moscow Central Television First
Program Network in Russian 2036 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Remarks by Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak, mayor of Leningrad, to journalists during a break between sessions at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow on 2 September; from the "Television News Service" program—recorded]

[Text] Another issue is on the agenda today: to halt the further collapse of state structures as soon as possible, and to create new, at least provisional, power structures for a transitional period, which would ensure normal life sustenance for the population and the functioning of the national economy as soon as possible, until we agree on the way we are going to live in the future.

We recognize each republic's independence—no doubt about that. Each people and each republic has a right to independence. But we must discuss the conditions for—we must go to the negotiating table, and solve the entire complex of the problems that arise here, so as not to solve these problems after the event. Let us first go to the negotiating table and determine all the issues of mutual relations between sovereign states the way the civilized world does. For if we do not do this, but first recognize independence a priori, so to speak, tomorrow we will breed thousands of conflicts and it will be a thousand times more difficult to agree on all issues than it is today when there is mutual interest in mutually recognizing independence.

Shaposhnikov 'Concerned' About Armed Forces

LD0409015291 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 2000 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Comments by USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov by unidentified "Vesti" reporter during an interval in the proceedings of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow on 3 September; from the "Vesti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] I am quite concerned with questions relating to the Armed Forces. In order to avoid any misunderstanding, yesterday morning at 0700 or 0800 I gave all the heads of the delegation my views, which had been agreed with the president regarding the conception of the Armed Forces. The main point consists of the fact that the Armed Forces should be united.

As for what I would like to happen at the congress, I would like it if we could not bother with dirty linen at present but with the constructive issues of our present and future.

Laptev Sees No Need for Supreme Soviet Chairman

PM0509081191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
2 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Untitled report from IZVESTIYA, RIA, INTERFAX, and TASS roundup]

[Text] Ivan Laptev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union, considers it necessary to scrap the post of chairman of the Union Supreme Soviet, instead of which "there should be two speakers of the chambers."

He also stressed the need for radical reform of the parliamentary apparatus.

The Soviet of the Union chairman said that the USSR Supreme Soviet session will not be able to confirm the missing Security Council members, and this will have to be done by a "new Supreme Soviet." Laptev reported that President Mikhail Gorbachev has not proposed new nominations in place of the people who refused to join this council.

Kalugin: 'We Can Still Work' With Gorbachev

LD0209181191 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1713 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 2 Sep (TASS)—People's Deputy Oleg Kalugin, who was yesterday reinstated as a major general of the KGB by decree of the USSR president, expects the Congress of People's Deputies to confirm the policy of democratization of the country. At the same time, however, in an interview given to a TASS correspondent today, Oleg Kalugin voiced his doubts about the ability of Congress deputies to confirm a policy of "genuine perestroika." In this connection, he pointed to the need to nip in the bud attempts by deputies of a conservative frame of mind to "put a brake on the process of renewing the country."

Speaking about a future Union, the deputy said he sees this as a confederation of independent states, in which economic interests will prevail. But he said that at the same time structures will be created to organize joint defense and solve ecological, transport, and communications problems. He expressed confidence that the Union would in the final analysis be created "on a healthier and fundamentally new basis."

Oleg Kalugin commented that the present head of state had not shown himself to be a strong president capable of administering such a big country. "However, Gorbachev's ability to give a critical interpretation of the path trodden, and the statement he made the first day after the putsch, provide grounds for believing that we can still work together with Gorbachev," the deputy said in conclusion.

Deputies React to Change in Congress Agenda

LD0309184191 Moscow TASS in English 1823 GMT
3 Aug 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Ludmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—The decision by the Soviet president and the leaders of ten Soviet republics to steer the special, fifth congress of people's deputies off the planned course by the offer to discuss the statement on the future of the Soviet Union changing the agenda approved by the USSR parliament, evoked a widely-ranging reaction.

Many say they agree in principle with the formulation of problems in the statement but are indignant at the imposition of discussion on the deputies and say some of the proposed measures are unconstitutional. Others believe that now that the Union is actually non-existent, the Constitution of the USSR is no longer effective, and the strong-arm methods used by the leaders of republics and the Soviet president are justified by the complexity of the situation they have to act in.

According to deputy Anatoly Yemelyanov, the statement was prompted by the good intentions, but its compilers are using undemocratic methods. Yemelyanov told TASS that the provisions of the statement, inviting republics to sign the Union treaty in any form acceptable to them and endorse an economic agreement will be supported by deputies. As regards the proposal to create new government structures for the duration of the transition period - the state council and the soviet of representatives of people's deputies, which calls for changes in the Constitution—the required two-thirds majority is hardly like to be forthcoming at the congress.

Deputy Aleksey Kazannik, a lawyer from Omsk, sticks to a different view: "There is no USSR as such any longer, hence references to violations of the Constitution are not substantiated, I believe".

He described the statement of eleven as "the only way towards overcoming the most complex economic and social crisis".

"There is some sound reason behind the view that the Soviet Constitution is no longer effective," Constitution Compliance Committee Chairman Sergei Alekseyev told TASS. "It should be kept in mind that the Soviet Union has in fact disintegrated," he added.

Work is now underway to give the congress's resolution on the statement a constitutional formulation. Emotions are mixed among deputies, he said, and the situation is further exacerbated by the need for a two-thirds majority to approve the statement.

The character of the debate shows that many deputies are ready for the congress to dissolve itself—the move that is bound to ensue from the implementation of the provisions contained in the statement.

But only a ballot will show the degree of the deputy corps' obedience to the will of the eleven. No one can forecast the outcome of the congress.

Political & Social

Bolshevik Platform Expels Gorbachev From CPSU

LD0409212391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1900 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] The organizational committee of the Bolshevik Platform in the CPSU, which is headed by Nina Andreyeva, has expelled Mikhail Gorbachev from the ranks of the CPSU. The USSR president is stripped of his CPSU membership, the decision states, for betraying the cause of Lenin and the October Revolution, for betraying the international working-class and Communist movement, for disrupting the socialist power [derzhava], for destroying the Leninist Party, for desertion and playing a double game, for deceiving the working people, and for demagoguery.

Nina Andreyeva declared in an interview with a correspondent of the INTERFAX news agency that the decision had been adopted by genuine Leninist Communists, who are henceforth taking the fate of the Leninist party into their own hands.

Nina Andreyeva also stated that the platform intends to preserve and strengthen the CPSU and stop the bourgeois expropriation of its property.

Fifth Soviet Envoy Summoned for Consultations

OW0409202891 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1645 GMT 4 Sep 91

["Diplomatic Panorama" report by M. Mayorov and I. Porshnev; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Soviet ambassador to Sweden, Mr. Nikolay Uspenskiy, whose behaviour during the August 19-21 coup came under heavy criticism from IZVESTIYA, has become the fifth top diplomat to be summoned to Moscow "for consultations." As DP's ["Diplomatic Panorama"] reporter learned at the MID (Foreign Ministry) department in charge of contacts with the Soviet embassies, one can expect an "attentive and unbiased study of the performance of MID diplomats and consular officials during the coup in the USSR."

The Foreign Ministry's Information Department has resolutely dismissed all talk of roll-call investigation into the behaviour of top-ranking diplomats, and assured DP that there will be "no large-scale purges or persecutions." Each particular case will be analysed from the viewpoint of Soviet foreign missions' general ability to work under critical conditions like those of a coup d'etat. According to DP's sources, Mr. Yuriy Dubinin, the ambassador to France, may be the next Soviet diplomat to be summoned to Moscow for consultations.

The RSFSR Foreign Ministry has dismissed the very possibility that any of its officials may have collected evidence against diplomats of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

Pankin Denies Rumors of Dismissal of 30 Envoys

OW0309050391 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1030 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The new Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin has told IF [INTERFAX] that the proposals made in the declaration of President Gorbachev and the leaders of 10 republics presented at the Congress of People's Deputies by Nursultan Nazarbayev are a big and reassuring success. He said that "the very fact that such a document was signed in the present conditions is indicative".

Pankin dismissed as absolutely absurd rumors about the dismissal of 30 Soviet ambassadors. He said that the activities of the USSR Foreign Ministry and all its foreign missions will be analysed. "Decisions concerning concrete persons will be made only on this basis," the minister stressed.

KGB Removal From Foreign Ministry Considered

OW0409202691 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1645 GMT 4 Sep 91

["Diplomatic Panorama" report by M. Mayorov and I. Porshnev; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] One of the USSR Foreign Ministry (MID) officials has observed that yesterday's appointment of Valeriy Kinyaikin to the post of acting head of the Main Department of Personnel and Educational Institutions was something of a "thunderbolt" to many staff members in the MID. He said very few could have expected a career diplomat who had worked first in Belgium, then in Italy, and for the past few months as deputy head of the MID's First European Department, to be put in charge of the ministry's Personnel Department.

One supposition is that this may signal an unprecedented move in the history of the Soviet Foreign Ministry: Its new chief Boris Pankin may be making a humble attempt to shift the MID's personnel policy out

of the KGB's control ("humble" refers to Mr. Kin-yakin's status of the "acting head" of the Personnel Department).

That this may indeed be so became still more obvious after Mr. Pankin told a TV reporter on Tuesday: "Learning that the new head of the national TV and Radio company has invited the KGB staff to leave the company's premises makes me take a thoughtful look at the situation in the Foreign Ministry."

What DP's ["Diplomatic Panorama"] correspondent has gathered from his personal contacts with diplomats shows that this situation is indeed complex and contradictory. Officials involved in foreign political intelligence seem to be questioning the expediency and even the very possibility of barring the KGB completely from the MID. They see a considerable difference between the performance of MID structures supervising the ministry's personnel policy and the work of KGB officers in foreign diplomatic missions that yields information which is indispensable to the Soviet Union's foreign policy in general and its immediate and longer-term diplomatic moves in particular.

One of the interviewees observed that whatever the new center—national or republican—may be like, it will never abandon a practice recognized by all without exception democratic and civilized countries. In order to have a clear and true picture of foreign developments, and to be able to take correct decisions, any country's administration needs a variety of information sources, not a single such source. Significantly, the new KGB chief Vadim Bakatin told the daily IZVESTIA a few days ago that he would insist on preserving the practice of sending intelligence officers to work as journalists and diplomats in foreign countries.

Foreign Ministry's Post-Putsch Status Viewed

PM0309140091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
2 Sep 91 Union Edition p 4

[Article by IZVESTIYA political observer Stanislav Kondrashov: "Union Foreign Ministry—With a New Minister and an Uncertain Future"]

[Text] We have lived through two weeks of political earthquakes, or—entry into a new era. The first week—the putsch and its defeat, the victory of democracy. The second week—the disintegration of the USSR, which the Russian and Ukrainian delegations spoke of for the first time on the night of Wednesday to Thursday, in their communique, as the former Union, the onetime Union. Against such a background, even major events can get lost. Two such events coincided on Wednesday: President Gorbachev appointed as the new USSR foreign minister Boris Pankin, who left his post as ambassador to Czechoslovakia; and he also stated in the Supreme Soviet that he will resign if the process of the USSR's disintegration does not stop.

But the president of the Union will automatically stop being president if the Union dies the death. As for the head of the USSR Foreign Ministry, prior to Pankin's appointment the rumors—and the hopes of many—were revolving around Shevardnadze. His return was called for by 8,000 Foreign Ministry staffers in their appeal, and by a number of speakers from the Supreme Soviet rostrum. Shevardnadze hesitated, and reportedly told the deputation from the Supreme Soviet: How can you be the foreign minister of a nonexistent state? And that question is the most convincing explanation for Eduard Shevardnadze's hesitation. Moreover Gorbachev did not specifically invite him to return. Why not? Several possibilities spring to mind. Here is one of them—in a drastically weakened Union, foreign policy functions will become virtually the chief function of the president, and there is no point in sharing them with such a well-known, influential figure of world caliber as Shevardnadze.

On Thursday Boris Pankin embarked on his new duties. At his first appearance before the Foreign Ministry leadership he reaffirmed his commitment to the Gorbachev-Shevardnadze line. He announced the appointment as first deputy minister of V.F. Petrovskiy, who served for a long time as one of the deputy ministers (with responsibility for liaison with international organizations) and is a highly competent, experienced, and intelligent diplomat. Yu.A. Kvitsinskiy is relieved of his duties as first deputy minister—without any form of words in explanation, but by implication in the context of his behavior during the putsch.

I heard Petrovskiy say: "The collective is deeply demoralized." In the opinion of Foreign Ministry staffers, the criticism of their behavior in the mass media is by no means always substantiated or just. "Before, our office was subjected to onslaughts from the right, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA used to persecute us, and now they are attacking us from the left," Petrovskiy says, though he immediately adds that "there are some grounds" for this. The Foreign Ministry people were also offended by certain "generalizations" in IZVESTIYA. The behavior of the central apparatus and the embassies during the putsch "will lead to conclusions being drawn. But we do not want to be hasty, and must be 100-percent sure of our facts."

The offense taken at generalizations is understandable. From the outset, from 1985, calls for new political thinking found fertile soil on many floors and in many offices of the skyscraper on Smolenskaya-Sennaya Street. Under Shevardnadze's leadership the Foreign Ministry became one of the most "perestroika-oriented" of Moscow's central departments. Those who could attest to this include James Baker and his predecessor George Shultz, Germany's Hans-Dietrich Genscher, France's Roland Dumas, Italy's Gianni de Michelis, and many others. Whatever people may say now about Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, who has resigned, the constructive course of entering the world community and tackling the most important problems of the arms race

continued under him. Staunch supporters of the USSR's openness in the military sphere worked and still work at the Foreign Ministry. The Foreign Ministry did much to ensure that the international norms of human rights became a part of our domestic life.

Preventing a "witch-hunt" within the walls of the skyscraper is an important task which the new minister has also understandably set himself. Every family has its black sheep, but highly skilled diplomats cannot be chucked out into the street, they must not be cast adrift because of left-radical intolerance or petty envy toward people who "get to go on foreign trips."

Soviet diplomacy has been experiencing two crises at once during these seismic weeks. One is briefly told. The other is far more profound and, by all appearances, prolonged. Will there be a Union? And what will it be like, how big will it be? The fate of the Union Foreign Ministry depends on this. Republic Foreign Ministries, which formerly were purely nominal, will now become fully fledged diplomatic departments, and are already beginning gradually to be recognized as such abroad.

During the days of the putsch, traveling to Paris on a Russian leadership mission, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev pursued energetic activity in the sphere of the exposure and international isolation of the putschists. The Ukraine and Belorussia declare themselves to be independent states, with all or some of the foreign policy consequences that derive from that status. Since the beginning of this week there has been a wave of recognitions of the three Baltic republics by the West. In the political sense they have, of course, flown the nest, and the USSR president and our Armed Forces are no longer protesting on this score as they used to, being overwhelmed by other problems.

How the Union and republic diplomatic services will distribute their functions depends on the "volume" and strength of the bonds in the new Union—if there is one. High-ranking staffers in the skyscraper on Smolenskaya-Sennaya Street assume that the Union will cease its activity in bilateral relations, which will increasingly be transferred to the republics. But in the main it will retain the "global and regional avenues," and also the military-strategic, space, and ecology agendas and the coordination of relations with international organizations.

By virtue of its size, Russia will be chief among the Union states, but the "unifying factor" will be space [prostranstvo] itself. As in the European Community: Germany is the strongest of the member countries, but the community is united primarily by space.

The West, observing the disintegration of the USSR, sees the question of the control of nuclear arms as the most worrying question. Assurances and reassurances on this score are given to Western governments not by the USSR Foreign Ministry, but by the Defense Ministry—in Ye.I. Shaposhnikov's public interviews. Nuclear weapons remain under the strict control of Moscow and the

relevant Union structures. But here too the republics are claiming a new role. There is much talk to the effect that the Soviet nuclear arsenal, which is located on the territory of three republics—Russia, the Ukraine, and Kazakhstan—should be transferred entirely to Russia. Well-informed people say that this is impossible in practice. In the Ukraine, for instance, at two strategic weapons bases 200 SS-19 ICBM's are kept, with medium-yield warheads of one megatonne each. Each in a special silo, a cyclopean structure which, of course, cannot be moved. In Kazakhstan there is "a lot of everything, plus a nuclear testing range." As for Russia, it accounts for approximately 80 percent of our strategic missile arsenal. The strategic bombers are based in Russia and the Ukraine.

So a powerful stimulus objectively exists in favor of centralized control of nuclear weapons, although Russia and the other interested republics are right to insist on the right to a voice on questions that decide their fate—the fate of sovereign states.

On this question, as on others, because of the seismic shifts of recent days, new relations are needed between the Union and the republics, a different balance of interests. It is necessary to find a new "golden mean," as USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.P. Karpov metaphorically put it.

Paper Says New Communist Party Being Formed

LD0509101191 Moscow TASS in English 0918 GMT
5 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—Given the current political situation, some communists could go underground and use illegal tactics, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA said today, citing a document, which states that "a new Communist party is being formed in the Soviet Union, a provisional leadership has been set up and registration of new members has begun".

According to the document, the new party aims to "fight against the fascist threat and promote the rights of the working man". The party has not yet decided on a name.

"These are forces with which we have nothing in common. They might be related to the Communist Initiative Movement," Soviet Communist Party Politburo Member Pyotr Luchinskiy told the newspaper.

There are many reformist forces in the Soviet Communist Party which should be given a chance to reorganise—disband the former Communist Party and set up a committee to create a new party, he said.

"In the future, it will probably join the movement for Democratic Reforms," he said.

Lawyer on Lukyanov's Condition in Detention

LD0409225591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Video interview with A.M. Gofshteyn, lawyer, by correspondent A. Zarayelyan in front of KGB detention center in Moscow; date not given; from the "Television News Service" program—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Zarayelyan] This is Matrosskaya Tishina Street. It is famous because there has been a prison here for several centuries. It now consists of No. 1 and No. 4 investigation detention centers. In the No. 4 investigation detention center—the KGB special detention center—is at present Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov and presumably—it is most likely that this is so—Kryuchkov and Yanayev. [video shows exterior of KGB detention center, then shows correspondent interviewing A.M. Gofshteyn]

Aleksandr Mikhaylovich, is it true that you have just seen Anatoliy Ivanovich?

[Gofshteyn] Yes, that is so.

[Zarayelyan] How is he?

[Gofshteyn] He is standing up to it very well. His health is okay. He does not regard himself as guilty. His position and the way he is conducting himself evoke respect. His position is very firm and, in my opinion, well-based.

[Zarayelyan] Is he wearing a suit or in detainees' dress?

[Gofshteyn] Yes, he is wearing a suit. All the talk about being in detainees' dress is not true. He is wearing normal civilian clothes.

[Zarayelyan] Is he alone in his cell?

[Gofshteyn] According to him he shares a cell with another person. [passage omitted]

Lukyanov Detention Said Illegal

LD0509070891 Moscow TASS in English 0651 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—"No charges have been filed against Anatoliy Lukyanov," the former Soviet parliament chairman's defensive lawyer Genrikh Padva told Soviet television on Wednesday.

Lukyanov's detention is illegal, Padva believes. He doubted his involvement in the failed coup attempt. "In this case we can only be certain that my client supports a certain point of view and to bring a person to court for ideas is like launching a trial over Nietzsche for being the ideologue of fascism," he said.

Padva warned that the trial of coup organisers could be turned into a political process. Prominent politicians are making public assessments about actions by certain

individuals during the August 18-21 coup even before the beginning of the trial, he said.

Daily Regime of High-Ranking Detainees Reported

LD0409171591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1629 GMT 4 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Zenkovich]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Sep (TASS)—The interrepublican collegium of lawyers has provided the high-ranking detainees with four of the country's most experienced lawyers. Oleg Baklanov is being defended by Aleksey Shmyrev, Valeriy Boldin by Yuriy Kartashov, Valentin Varennikov by Leonid Belomestnykh, and Oleg Shenin by Ivan Matskevich.

According to Vladimir Ryabtsev, deputy chairman of the presidium of the interrepublican collegium of lawyers, the state of health of the detainees listed above is normal. They are all being held in ordinary cells of one of the four Moscow investigative isolation prisons and are giving evidence. The guards in these prisons were completely changed beforehand.

The arrested men's detention regime is the ordinary one, with interrogations, daily walks, and newspapers. There are no televisions in the cells, and no special cooking. They have not yet had any meetings with relatives. All four have been charged, and they have been questioned as defendants. Next week, according to V. Ryabtsev, may be devoted to confrontations and other investigative actions.

Ligachev Comments on Attitude Toward Putsch

LD0509020391 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 4 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] If you believe Yegor Ligachev, party members do not have, and should not have, grounds for alarm.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] What is your attitude on the coup attempt on 19 August.

[Ligachev] I consider this to be a manifestation of adventurism in politics. You see, the party has always spoken, and speaks, against adventurism in politics, against solving questions of the internal life of the country through military means. The party does not have any connection to this. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev practically transferred the antiparty, antistate activities of individual leaders in the Central Committee to the whole party. This was wrong. [end recording] [video shows Ligachev being interviewed]

Ligachev highly appraised the role of Yeltsin in preserving democracy, but the sacred words—Boris, you are wrong—were again heard in relation to departyization, the suspension of CPSU activities, and the confiscation of CPSU property.

Seleznev on Changes Since Coup, New Directions

LD0409212291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 0715 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] After a number of articles stating that Yanayev and company were not such bad guys after all, the PRAVDA newspaper was temporarily closed. But on 31 August PRAVDA reappeared in mailboxes and in newspaper kiosks. Anyone who has examined the new issues of PRAVDA will have doubtless discovered that the picture of Lenin is missing from the front page, as are the notorious words "Organ of the CPSU Central Committee."

Why Lenin disappeared, and where he went, no one knows, but as for the notorious words, everything is quite clear—how could they but disappear, if the CPSU Central Committee has itself disbanded? And another point, incidentally: in ceasing to be an organ, PRAVDA has, in the view of its staff, become a new and independent newspaper. The life of the PRAVDA staff, however, has become no sweeter. Part of the editorial offices will soon be handed over to other organizations, and the staff will have to squeeze up a bit.

This does not stop Gennadiy Seleznev, the new editor in chief of PRAVDA, from being an optimist: he thinks the new PRAVDA has a great future. Gennadiy Seleznev gave an interview to our correspondent Vlasta Dymyankenko.

[Begin recording] [Dymyankenko] Gennadiy Nikolayevich, PRAVDA was published on 31 August but no longer as the organ of the CPSU. What has actually changed in your newspaper?

[Seleznev] All the changes are yet to come. Since the newspaper has become independent, it has been set up by a journalist organization, that is, the staff publishing PRAVDA. We constantly take into account that the PRAVDA that existed before the closure had 3,200,000 readers, and we would not want to lose them in one fell swoop. And so we must still search for a new newspaper, for new content for the newspaper, relying on the interests of those who have paid money for us.

[Dymyankenko] Are there any PRAVDA staff who refused to work on your newspaper after the well-known events of 19 August?

[Seleznev] Yes, there were three members of staff who left, I think, but one left because he did not support the newspaper's position at that time, and two others left—and a few others are leaving now, too—because they do not yet know what sort of a newspaper it will be.

[Dymyankenko] The CPSU Central Committee no longer exists: what does PRAVDA intend to use for money to publish?

[Seleznev] In recent years, PRAVDA was subsidized from the Party budget, although before that time PRAVDA yielded huge profits for the Party budget

itself. Now, however, we are in a difficult financial situation, and so we have appealed to our readers, we have set up a PRAVDA newspaper fund, we are counting on sponsors, and we are now seeking organizations which could support us for these coming months.

[Dymyankenko] In the first issue of the new PRAVDA on 31 August you, as editor-in-chief, wrote: "We are taking, first of all, rank- and-file communists under our protection from persecution for their convictions." Against whom are you proposing to protect these rank- and-file communists, and do you have real facts about actual persecution of rank-and-file communists for their convictions and not for some action or another?

[Seleznev] My remarks that you have quoted actually covered broader ground. They also said that we would be working with redoubled strength on the subject of human rights. Our rights have also been flouted outright, and we have realised that nobody, whatever convictions he might profess, should find himself in that situation, God forbid. Take, for instance, the case of an enterprise being reorganized, with cutbacks in staffing, where it is people who are CPSU members who are cut back. We would not want it to be the case that someone actually less well-qualified but holding a party card hung on to a job whilst someone more highly professional but without a party card was made redundant. This applies particularly to the oblasts where things have always been particularly difficult for communists.

[Dymyankenko] And you yourself are a communist?

[Seleznev] Yes, I am a communist.

[Dymyankenko] And are you thinking of quitting?

[Seleznev] Not yet, because that would be too simplistic and in my view too hypocritical. [end recording]

Yegor Yakovlev on Competition in TV, Radio

LD0409202791 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1820 GMT 4 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Vdovin]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Sep—So-called "Kravchenko Television" sticks in the memory of viewers due to the disappearance from the "blue screen" of the popular and well-loved programs "Vzglyad" and "Before and after midnight," and for presentation changes for the worse in "TSN" [Television News Service] and other programs. Their presenters also slipped into the shadows. Now these programs have been reborn. Television viewers connect these pleasant changes primarily with the appointment of Yegor Yakovlev, chief editor of the newspaper MOSCOW NEWS to the post of chairman of the All-Union State Television and Radio Company.

For many years I have worked exclusively as a writer for the television, and now with my new appointment I am having to cope with my lack of knowledge of the internal

mechanism of television, Yegor Yakovlev stated in conversation with a Tass correspondent. This is natural, but in my view, I have one significant plus point—I look at television from the viewpoint of any normal person, like a viewer for the time being. Therefore I have decided: I will rely on the opinion of the viewer. As regards "Yakovlev Television," then I completely reject this. I think that "Kravchenko Television" earned this name because its "democratic line" came down to one person. I am going to do everything possible in order that this is not repeated.

An obvious example, in the words of the chairman of the television and radio company, is a competition between the two news crews which is to last for two weeks. They are to take it in turns to broadcast and fight for the right to run the television news program which up until last week was still called "Vremya". Television viewers can themselves evaluate the standard, quality, and efficacy with which the material is broadcast, and they can cast their vote for one team or another. "This sort of selection by competition will be the key to all future changes on television".

Speaking about innovations, Yegor Yakovlev noted that in the reborn television, the channels will become independent firms on a joint stock basis, and each of them will be able to submit their own tape with ready-prepared programs. "Some of the first ones to move out from the protection of Central Television are the Moscow and Leningrad television channels".

As for KGB people who for a long time combined their work for the television with service for the committee, Yegor Yakovlev stated: "I am sure that the clean-up which Vadim Bakatin, the new chairman of the KGB is carrying out, will result in this issue being resolved."

Commentary Notes Need for Western Assistance

LD0409155291 Moscow TASS in English 1509 GMT 4 Sep 91

[By TASS international observer Gennadiy Petrov: "The Soviet Union Needs Assistance—TASS Comment"]

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—Moscow's shop windows look scary in their striking poverty. Scarce display of goods on sale is shrinking ever faster. The situation is by no means better in most other cities of the country, indeed, in many places it is much worse.

Against this background, private markets impress visitors with their traditional fall-time abundance but scare them away with exorbitant prices which even people with respectable incomes can hardly afford.

The coming winter holds out no promise of improvement in supplies of essentials. This may lead to unpredictable social and political consequences, because "empty pans are more dangerous than tanks," and not

only for Soviet citizens, as Aleksandr Yakovlev, President Mikhail Gorbachev's former senior adviser, pointed out in an interview with the French television programme TF-1.

The euphoria in Moscow caused by the rout of the coup in August and a victory of democracy and freedom is being gradually replaced by concern for the daily bread. It is obvious that at the present critical moment, when the old system of administrative management and distribution is convulsing, and market structures are being strenuously created, the West's aid to the centre and republics would prove as well-timed and valuable as never before. Even if it has little similarity to the Marshall Plan, a programme which is backed by many in the West, even if it is just a tangible supply of food and medicine.

As regards monetary assistance, it will be needed to fund a new programme of radical economic reform which is now being worked out by leading Soviet scientists.

At this crucial moment in the fate of the peoples of the Soviet Union it is most desirable to see international banks and foreign governments put off Soviet credit interest payments due to be made this year.

Of course, Western countries, even the most prosperous ones, have many problems of their own. But they should keep in mind that a stingy person often has to pay double price. This proverb very nearly materialized last month after the big seven leaders failed to extend effective and substantial aid to support Gorbachev's reforms. The failed coup in the Soviet Union, as is clear now, called into question not only the continuation of perestroika in the Soviet Union but also the entire world order.

Germany is most active in helping our country. Its financial obligations have exceeded 60 billion marks, despite difficulties brought about by the unification of its own territory. But even Germany cannot cope alone. Coordinated efforts are needed of all European Community member-countries, the United States and Japan. In this context it is very important that a number of U.S. politicians have spoken out in favour of further cuts in the U.S. military budget and the use of released money to increase assistance to Moscow and republics. This approach is certainly in keeping with the spirit of the times following the end of the cold war and deserves praise.

Levin on Need to Save Nation, Not Fear West

LD0409163291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1330 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Commentary by Viktor Levin]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Much is still unpredictable in this country. Perhaps I'm mistaken here, but I think that Viktor Nikolayevich Levin, our Mayak commentator, will dot the i's.

[Levin] Well, I'm not going to risk dotting all the i's, of course, and nobody's wrong in saying that by no means everything in this country is cut and dried. The current Congress of People's Deputies clearly shows that even the people's elected representatives do not fully understand the urgency of the problems facing the country today. Instead of sticking their heads in the sand, they should rescue the country. I think that the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA put it very succinctly in the headline: "Who Are the Deputies Out to Save, Themselves or the Country?" It's the country that needs saving. Hence the natural reaction of the Western powers. True, they want to take a look; true, they're in no hurry. But note this: they are in no hurry to provide aid. They are in no hurry to draw final conclusions. But nor are they doing anything that might exacerbate the situation in this country. I particularly want to draw listeners' attention to this fact. Let's be open and honest about this. Now is the time, the moment of truth, when everything needs to be put in its place. Because our entire ideology, all our policies, were based on the premise that everything the imperialists do is governed by their grudge against us. Moreover, in frightening us, certain of our fellow citizens in the upper echelons of power have given themselves such a fright that their teeth are chattering.

I read in a newspaper—there are many papers to read now of course and I don't really remember where I read this—but in the CPSU Central Committee cafeteria, on the last day of the latter's operation, people were sitting silently contemplating their plates when one of the cafeteria ladies burst in and said: The game's up, boys, the building's being sealed off. Silence set in and suddenly a voice was heard to say: What are so you pleased about? Instead of feeding us, you will be feeding Americans. Understand, such...[sighs] I almost let out an unparliamentary expression, but managed to bite my tongue in time! It's best not to use unparliamentary language. Not only in parliament but here too, on the radio. Understand, people are so blinkered. You'd think, after all, that now was the best chance those very imperialists have ever had to rip us to pieces, tear us asunder: This one's been hauled into court, this one has been leaned on, another...but on the contrary, they are taking care that we do not fall apart. This is very important. I do not want to say that the state interests of the United States and what yesterday was the USSR coincide, because they do not, they are different. But everyone clearly understands that strongarm tactics in resolving problems with us are simply inconceivable. I think that this sobering-up should also give us the key to understanding a vast number of problems.

Incidentally, first, what do we need right now most of all? Economic stabilization. Economic salvation. Here the immeasurable military spending that has been foisted upon us for so many years should of course be drastically cut. The leadership of our Armed Forces has now gone to people who take a significantly broader view of events at home and abroad than their predecessors, and as far as I can judge, a significantly more competent

view. The previous leadership spoke of conscription for students, while the new one speaks of the possibility of reducing the length of service to 18 months for those liable for the call-up. Opportunities like this are opening up now. This will not undermine our security. We have now seen that security takes an entirely different form. It doesn't lie in stockpiling tanks, in a muscle-bound military, but in stability within the country. The West's reaction to events in our country give us precisely the chance to calmly and sensibly extricate ourselves from this crisis. Of course, the West is highly concerned about where the nuclear weapons are and who is controlling them. That's understandable enough—they do not want nuclear weapons to fall into irresponsible hands. However, there is an agreement between the leaders of all the republics that there will be a unified, strategic military entity. Let me return once more to the extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies. The country doesn't need to be shaken up; it needs to be saved. [passage omitted]

TASS Reviews 5 Sep Soviet Central Press

LD0509070791 Moscow TASS in English 0646 GMT
5 Sep 91

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—Today's newspapers highlight the third day of the extraordinary Congress of Soviet People's Deputies being held in Moscow. The Soviet legislature is expected to have a detailed debate over a proposed resolution and a bill that were given general approval on Wednesday.

"By sacrificing itself, the congress can now get a clear picture about management styles and methods gaining popularity at the top of the union pyramid," NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA writes.

"The Soviet president and republican leaders have in fact barred members of the legal commission (excluding Kalmykov and Kudryavtsev) from finalising the documents. The principle of lawmaking based on negotiations, heavily smacking of collective authoritarianism, was followed very carefully indeed," it writes.

The Soviet unemployment exchange will do all it can to find jobs for "honest former party workers and ordinary communists," PRAVDA quotes the exchange's director Igor Zaslavskiy as saying.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA and PRAVDA publish an appeal by workers of Moscow's Vladimir Lenin Museum to the Congress of Soviet People's Deputies, President Gorbachev and Yeltsin, the UNESCO and the International Council of Museums protesting Moscow Mayor Gavril Popov's decision to take the museum's building away and move its collection to the Museum of Russian Revolutions.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries an article by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev about a conference on the human dimension scheduled for September 10 in Moscow.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA writes about a hunger strike planned by political prisoners at Perm-35 labour camp to mark the Moscow conference on the human dimension.

Fifty-one per cent of Soviet citizens believe it is impossible to live in the country without violating laws, according to an opinion poll, conducted by the Soviet Centre for Public Opinion Research.

SELSKAYA ZHIZN carries an extract from Raisa Gorbachev's autobiography. TRUD also carries excerpts from the book.

SELSKAYA ZHIZN carries an interview with Yaroslav regional council chairman Aleksandr Veselov about food shortages in the area. "The countryside has lost faith in the future. Our country has no future without a rich countryside," Veselov said.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA interviews Radio Liberty Russian service director Vladimir Matusevich.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA write about the Nizhny Novgorod fair. Organisers had to postpone the presentation of the all-Russia joint stock society Nizhny Novgorod fair, which had been scheduled for September 4 until November because of turmoil in the country.

TRUD publishes an article by sitting Russian Minister for Social Security S. Ischenkov about social welfare programs in the Russian Federation. His agency is on the brink of collapse, he said.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA writes about the restoration of St. Trinity Monastery in Murom, near Vladimir.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA publishes photographs and brief biographies of newly appointed commanders of the Moscow, Baltic and Volga-Urals military districts General Vladimir Toporov, Valeriy Mironov and Anatoliy Sergeyev.

Economic

National Economy Committee Tasks Outlined

LD3108171791 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1848 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 30 Aug (TASS)—The latest session of the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy of the USSR under the chairmanship of I.S. Silayev has taken place. This was announced by the committee's press service. A decision was adopted to bring to the notice of first deputy ministers and other leaders who are members of the USSR Government and who are in charge of general matters that, in connection

with the resignation of the USSR cabinet of ministers and with the agreement of the USSR president, they are charged temporarily, pending the formation of a new Union executive body, with the duties of managing the appropriate sectors and spheres of administration. They bear the full measure of responsibility for the results of their activities.

It was decided to send, on behalf of the committee, telegrams to the governments of the sovereign republics containing information about the start of its activities; to carry out the reregistering of concerns, associations, and other economic formations set up recently on the base of abolished ministries and departments of the USSR; and to set aside USSR Government decisions having an anti-market tendency. The preparation of proposals and material on these matters was entrusted to G.A. Yavlinskiy and V.I. Kisin.

The committee confirmed the powers of the USSR Vneshekonombank [Bank for Foreign Economic Activity] to perform its functions as regards carrying out the operations envisaged by its charter, and also the powers of Yu. S. Moskovskiy as chairman of the bank's board. Yu. S. Moskovskiy was instructed to step up the work of seeking additional credit resources in foreign currency, in accordance with the previously adopted decisions of the Union-republic foreign currency committee.

The USSR State Bank is instructed to consider and resolve the question of allocating cash to the Estonian Republican Bank taking into account the proportion of its distribution between the republics and also in the shortest possible time to elaborate the concept of the currency division when the republics secede from the union and to present it to the Committee for Operational Management of the National Economy of the USSR.

G.A. Yavlinskiy, deputy chairman of the Committee, spoke at the meeting. He proposed to create a special group under the Committee which would concentrate its efforts on three problems: preparation of an economic agreement between the republics; elaboration of the mechanism of interaction with the industrial developed countries and integration into world economy; elaboration of a program for coordinating an economic reform. Representatives of the republics of any rank but with real powers should become members of the group.

On 30 August the Committee for Operational Management of the National Economy of the USSR passed a resolution "on emergency measures to provide population with foodstuffs." It is envisaged to involve the requisite additional number of transport means and labor resources from enterprises, organizations, institutions, and educational establishments. Managers of enterprises carry full responsibility for organizing the completion of harvest work, transportation, and storage of agricultural products of the 1991 crop.

It is acknowledged that the volumes of grain purchases for the state order and the food tax in kind as redefined

in the light of the actual harvest should be considered the minimum and its fulfillment made unconditionally obligatory under pain of personal responsibility.

It has been decided to create a special fund of material resources for selling trucks and cars, tractors and building materials, and also refrigerators, televisions, washing machines and sewing machines in exchange for supplying the state with grain, potatoes, cotton, and other agricultural products.

The decision introduces a procedure making it obligatory to fulfill instructions from the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy of the USSR on deliveries of grain and foodstuffs to all-Union consumers, via interrepublican deliveries and the dispatch of foodstuffs to regions of the Far North. Questions of reciprocal payments will be considered during the elaboration and signing of the economic agreement and the confirmation of the balances of foodstuffs for 1992.

The USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and the USSR State Committee for Food and Purchases are instructed in coordination with comrades Yu. M. Luzhkov and G.V. Kulik to take urgent measures in respect of purchases abroad during the September-December 1991 period of foodstuffs and raw materials for their production, and the USSR Vneshekonombank is directed to open credit facilities in good time and to ensure priority payment for the aforementioned purchases, including expenditure on transportation.

The committee has made it incumbent on the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet, the USSR Ministry of Railways and the RSFSR Ministry of Transport to ensure the timely conveyance of food; and [has made it incumbent] on the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs to intensify the protection of food cargoes and to take control of their transportation throughout the country's territory.

Personal responsibility for providing the population with food is placed on the leaders of the executive and administrative bodies of republics, krais, oblasts and autonomous okrugs and in the cities of Moscow and Leningrad on comrades Yu. M. Luzhkov, A.A. Sobchak, G.V. Kulik and S.D. Aleshin.

The government of the city of Moscow, the mayor of the city of Leningrad, and the bodies of executive management of the republics comprising the RSFSR, krais, oblasts and autonomous districts are to ensure the allocation of the necessary quantity of motor-vehicle transport means for the transportation of potatoes and vegetables and the harvesting of sugar beet. According to an instruction of the committee for the operational administration of the USSR national economy, the USSR Ministry of Defense will carry out the redeployment of military motor transport taking part in bringing in the harvest and will draw the personnel of military sub-units and military educational establishments and their transport and other technical means to the harvesting of

potatoes, vegetables and other technical means to the harvesting of potatoes, vegetables and other agricultural crops. Some 35,000 military servicemen and graduates of higher and secondary educational establishments situated in the city of Moscow and Moscow oblast will be dispatched to carry out the harvesting of potatoes and vegetables in Moscow oblast. The USSR Ministry of Material Resources and Rosnefteprodukt [Russian petroleum production] have been instructed to ensure the continuous supply of combustible and lubricating materials to collective and state farms and other enterprises of the agro-industrial complex. Comrade Yu. M. Luzhkov is instructed, over a three day period, to make proposals on the additional allocation of petrol and diesel fuel required for carrying out autumn agricultural work, to be distributed to the republics.

It was resolved to complete the work of repairing and reconstructing the sugar plants as soon as possible, to provide the necessary means of transport for this and to ensure the delivery of fuel in line with the annual supplies before 15 October, and to ensure delivery of limestone and coke before 1 November 1991, and also to provide assistance in bringing the number of workers up to full strength.

Comrades Luzhkov Yu. M., Kulik G.V. and Moskovskiy Yu. S. have been instructed to hold talks immediately with foreign banks on the possibility of obtaining credits for the advanced purchase of grain, oil-seed meal, soya, sugar, vegetable oil, and other foodstuffs. The allocation of the foodstuffs being imported to the Union republics and other consumers is to be carried out by the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy of the USSR with the agreement of the governments of the republics.

Silayev on Committee's Tasks

LD3108183991 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1540 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 31 Aug (TASS)—"The most important problems facing us today are providing the people with food and achieving the normal functioning of all sectors in the winter period." This is how Ivan Silayev, speaking to a TASS correspondent, singled out the priority tasks in the work of the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy of the USSR, which he heads.

Dwelling on the committee's commitments, he said that it was not a hastily created body which will automatically be declared the government tomorrow. Its functions are determined in the actual title—Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy. It is, therefore, a provisional interrepublican formation whose aim is to support the country's economy, prevent it from declining still further, and at the same time to address the most important problems rapidly.

Speaking about the Committee's first steps, Ivan Silayev noted that a decision has been taken on ensuring food

supplies to the country's population, which has been agreed with all the republics. Next week the question of improving the supply of heat, fuel, and electricity to industries of the national economy and the social and domestic service sector is to be examined. Representatives of all 15 republics are on the committee, four of them, it is true, in the capacity of observers—from the Baltic republics and Ukraine—and in the process of its work, the committee head stressed, they are working out the most acceptable formula for interaction between the republics in the supreme executive government body. Not everything is going easily straight away. The first session was quite difficult and complicated. Elements of inertia are evidently still present in every one of us. But the third session has already demonstrated that the republics have quickly begun to understand one another and to find ways of interaction.

Asked whether the rapidly proceeding process of dividing up union assets will accelerate disruption of traditional economic links between various regions, Ivan Silayev noted that this should be tied in with the new economic mechanism now taking shape. He stated that such sharing-out of property was not intended to replace the command system of management at one level by another command system. At least, that was not the intention in Russia. The committee wants to ensure that economic entities—factories and works, the private sector—begin to function in economic freedom and be regulated solely by laws and taxation. In a market environment, all other economic entities should be placed in the same situation.

In the opinion of the head of the USSR Committee for Operational Management of the National Economy, the dividing up of union assets, and its acceleration, will allow more rapid destruction of conservative union structures, as is now taking place in Russia. There, after being transferred to republican control, numerous enterprises and organizations, including in the defense industry, have immediately proposed ways of harnessing their potential—productive, technical, and scientific—to cater to the needs of Russia. So this is a normal process.

Volskiy Urges Interrepublican Agreement

LD0209115891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0945 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 2 Sep (TASS)—“We must stop ‘squabbling’ over the Union treaty and get down to concluding an economic agreement between the republics,” said Arkadiy Volskiy, deputy head of the committee for the operational management of the USSR national economy, in an interview with a TASS correspondent. This committee has only been working for a few days and is carrying out a comprehensive analysis of the economic situation and formulating a concept for extricating the USSR economy from crisis.

Volskiy announced that one of the strategic directions for the work of the committee is to formulate measures to enable a switch to the market and liberalize the

economy, measures such as enterprises becoming independent, reducing or abolishing state procurement, and further developing enterprise. The second direction is economic agreement between the republics as well as integrating the country's economy into the world system.

According to Volskiy, attention will center mainly on saturating the market with consumer goods. “The three ‘cornerstones’ of our economic policy are food, fuel, and medicine,” Volskiy noted.

He announced that austerity and unpopular anti-inflation measures will be adopted in the USSR in order to improve the financial system. “What is needed is a coordinated finance and investment policy. Many republics are making uncoordinated decisions without counting the cost. This lack of coordination in expenditure and wages is leading to the collapse of the country's finance system,” Volskiy said.

He stressed that the committee is striving for close cooperation with republican economic structures although this is being hindered by strong centrifugal forces. “Common problems can only be resolved together. If the republics start ‘going their own way’ the severing of economic ties will mean colossal losses for everyone, counting indirect losses, hundreds of thousands of millions of rubles,” Volskiy noted.

Saburov Interviewed

PM0309122191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Aug 91 p 2

[Interview with Yevgeniy Saburov, USSR minister of the economy and forecasting, by I. Savvateyeva; date and place of interview not stated; first paragraph is introduction: “Yevgeniy Saburov: ‘They Do Not Serve at the Market’”]

[Text] This name was first heard loudly in late June, when Ivan Silayev, speaking at a conference of Russian industrialists in Arkhangelsk, present the republican program, named its ideologist and developer, Yevgeniy Saburov, the Russian deputy minister of education. In August the deputy minister of education became the minister of the economy and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. Since 26 August Yevgeniy Saburov has been USSR Minister of the economy and forecasting.

[Saburov] The extraordinary situation in which our economy has been for a long time is an extremely unstable situation. Just small additional disruptions would be enough for everything to fall apart. The coup could in fact have caused such disruptions—in economic relations and in grain purchases abroad.

[Savvateyeva] And nonetheless does it not seem to you that despite all these difficulties and even dangers enormous prospects for the reform of the economy are opened up before us?

[Saburov] On the first night of the siege father Gleb Yakunin said to me that the boil should be lanced, or we would spend years more trying to bestir ourselves. Events have shown that the coup could not push Russia from the path along which it had proceeded.

[Savvateyeva] You known, on 21 August I was talking with a businessman who predicted that very soon that undistinguished coup would end and a flood of foreign investments would gush into the country.

[Saburov] I do not think that money will flow in immediately tomorrow. But since 21 August I have been receiving proposals for talks with representatives of many of the world's biggest commercial banks which had hitherto stood aloof.

[Savvateyeva] Do you believe foreign banks will save the country?

[Saburov] Foreign banks can help but only those who live here can save the country. I am deeply convinced that the main question is how far the people are ready for the market. There is a kind of romantic idea that a few intelligent people, democrats and market experts, will meet, will write a code of good laws—and the thing will be done. My main hopes are pinned not on "good" laws—although they are undoubtedly necessary—but on substantial changes in people's awareness. On the fact that they will finally say to each other: Boys, let's agree that you will trade, you will produce, and you will write laws... In my opinion that understanding, that agreement to civilized forms of life, to some kind of social contract, is already emerging...

By economic policy our people understand as a rule questions of priorities, of state investment, of the allocation of resources. But since we are advancing toward a market economy, its center is becoming the free entrepreneur and it is the entrepreneur who essentially will himself determine economic policy while the state organs will merely adapt themselves to him. Today state economic policy will come down to giving this entrepreneur his legal freedom as rapidly as possible.

[Savvateyeva] Who then will determine the policy of economic reforms?

[Saburov] That is a completely different question. The implementation of economic reforms is a complex matter requiring powerful state action. It is very important who implements these reforms: the center or the republics. In my view the leading role should of course belong to the republics. Interrepublican agreements and monitoring of their observance are essential. It is possible to carry out this monitoring in a casual way: Everyone will monitor everyone else. It is also possible in a more civilized way: by creating interrepublican organs—ministries. It goes without saying that the ministries and cabinet of ministers in their present form and with their present functions should be abolished.

[Savvateyeva] Yevgeniy Fedorovich, does it not seem to you that just a little time will elapse and the republics will start to experience a certain fear in the face of the strengthening of a potentially powerful and rich Russia and it will be in their interests to somewhat weaken Yeltsin's positions and to some degree set the center and Gorbachev against him?

[Saburov] No, it does not seem so. Do not confuse the interests of the peoples of the republics with the interests of their pro-communist governments. It is the anti-Gorbachev line of those governments which has long been known. They also behaved rather unpleasantly with regard to Yeltsin and Russia during the coup. In my view these communist leaders have very firmly entrenched feelings of dependence and the habit of living without a care at Russia's expense. In the market relations which should put an end to this dependence the Communists will obviously simply be unable to operate. At least as long as they are quite incapable of understanding the elementary fact that they must have dignity and not demand handouts, if those have been stopped. Yes, these people have a fear of Russia, but a fear of it not as a state but as a "bad example," as having gone the furthest along the path of reforms.

Of course, there is a certain problem in that the peoples of many republics are still expressing only rather passively their attitude toward communist power. I think this is a temporary phenomenon. Because in the forthcoming market relations keeping the Communists at the helm will be increasingly disadvantageous to the peoples. The market is notable in that any movement in it always has feedback. These processes will probably not proceed simply in the republics. Some tension is highly likely. But in any case they will ultimately have beneficial influence on the situation as a whole. And as for a powerful economic partner—then that is a boon...

[Savvateyeva] By what outward signs and how soon will it be possible to judge how successfully reforms are being implemented?

[Saburov] Actually, the thrust of the reforms is that the population will use the investment checks issued to it by the state to buy fixed capital from the state and will become the owner. We must create economic conditions in which people would like to acquire, and it would be to their advantage to acquire, state property. We are trying to forecast the most varied options for the population's behavior and its ability to acquire securities. Depending on that we shall elaborate various options for economic measures which would not allow the pace of privatization to be reduced.

We shall not impose anything on people. We shall follow them and adapt to their wishes and potential. In a period of two and one half years we have projected several critical points by the state of affairs in which it will be possible to determine most accurately whether the population agrees to invest its funds. The first such point is February next year.

The aim of all reforms is the creation of a private sector. A sector powerful enough for the entire economy to start to work on a market basis. Even that part of the economy which remains in the state sector. We hope that we will manage to do this in two and one half years. For this—according to international standards—it will be necessary for about 80 percent of industry to be in the private sector. That is a complex task. Complex because it is linked with the liberalization of prices, the problem of indexing the population's incomes, a change in tax policy, the establishment of special financial institutions, which do not yet exist in our country, the creation of stock exchanges... And all these tasks must be resolved in a package.

[Savvateyeva] It is known that the inflated military-industrial complex is a millstone around the economy's neck...

[Saburov] Why are attempts at conversion so ineffectual? Yes, orders for arms have been reduced but, as before, they came to the same military-industrial complex and were distributed among the enterprises there. There has been less work, but the tank plants have remained tank plants. They have been led by the same people, the plants have as before been considered closed, and as before financing was delayed in the same way. It is true that a few casseroles were also produced.

Something completely different is needed. The defense complex must cease to exist as a kind of single entity separate from the country's economy, sucking Russia's blood and turning it into a target. It must be split up and turned into individual enterprises and concerns working on the basis of orders from the state. The state in turn should review the doctrine of defense sufficiency and the question of mobilization reserves to make them more sensible.

[Savvateyeva] What will happen to prices? Yeltsin's statements in the last days before the putsch regarding the Russian government's readiness to raise prices for oil alarmed everyone.

[Saburov] The people are so frightened by a rise in prices that they believe any increase is bad. It is true that the peasants already understand that a rise in prices for wheat is actually good for them. And that is so: If someone has a commodity and the price for it rises then that is a good thing for the seller. Russia has oil, but the price for it is absurdly, unjustifiably low. Raising prices for oil will be to the advantage of Russia and the Russian population. As for other republics, I have already said that under the market there are no handouts. Ultimately Russia cannot act forever as a daily cow.

[Savvateyeva] How will this increase nonetheless affect ordinary consumers who pay a certain sum every month for lighting and gas? Will that sum increase?

[Saburov] The rise in payment for municipal services will be negligible. After all it is a case not of the full liberalization of prices for oil but of a partial, strictly

controlled, increase. Of course that will lead to a rise in prices for consumer goods. But it must not be forgotten that this will take place at the same time as other market reforms: privatization and citizens' economic emancipation. In other words expenditure will increase but the opportunities for earning will also increase. Take cotton. If prices for it are unacceptable to us, why should we sell oil to Uzbekistan? We shall sell it elsewhere and buy cotton there. Oil is a convertible commodity.

[Savvateyeva] Yevgeniy Fedorovich, it is not only the situation with regard to oil but also the daily bread situation which has recently been causing serious alarm. People are saying that state grain purchases are being sabotaged, that the peasants are holding it back.

[Saburov] It seems to me that it is a great exaggeration to say the peasants are holding onto the harvest. The point is that the grain produced in the country is simply not enough for everyone. Even before there was not enough of it, but the system forced those who were richer to share with those who were poorer. The concept of importing oblasts and exporting oblasts existed. But now that this is not working grain is not being hidden—it is simply being spent. And there are places to spend it. The problem nonetheless lies elsewhere. The city cannot give the peasant the goods he needs. The peasant's labor is hard and if rural inhabitants cannot buy clothing, shoes, a video recorder, or microwave oven with the money they earn—then why exert themselves? Problems connected with grain are problems of the establishment of the economy. They cannot be resolved by some one-off act. Breaking arms and dollarization will not help, as many people now suppose. There is no doubt that we must get out of the existing situation right now. So far there can be only one way out: Purchasing grain abroad. So that the problem of grain for Russia is once again the problem of oil.

[Savvateyeva] With which prime minister, I have in mind Union premier, would you like to make your reforms?

[Saburov] It seems to me that Silayev could be a very good prime minister for the whole country. First, he supports the market. Second, he knows production and industry. That combination is unique. There are almost no people like that in the country. And another thing. Silayev enjoys popularity. Any union government, even under the most brilliant professional, will do nothing now unless it has the people's support. Because it will have to take the most unpopular measures.

[Savvateyeva] Do you count on the people's support for unpopular measures?

[Saburov] There is no way out here. If the people fail to understand and give their support, we will slide all the way into the abyss.

Measures Taken Ensure Food Supply

LD0409124191 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service
in English 1200 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] The committee for the day-to-day running of the Soviet economy has taken a number of urgent measures to ensure the population (?with) food. Among other things, it has asked governments in the republics and local governing bodies to reap the harvest properly and make necessary fodder supplies. An additional number of factory workers, office employees, and college students will give a helping hand to the farmers. More trucks and farm machinery will be sent to the rural area.

The committee described as impermissible the fact that in some regions the sale of grain to the government is held back. Urgent measures will also be taken to purchase food as well as raw material for producing it abroad.

Draft Convention on Economic Community

PM0409170891 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
5 Sep 91 Union Edition p 7

["Draft Convention on the Creation of an Economic Community"; footnote reads "The draft Convention was drawn up by a working party of experts under the leadership of Academician S.S. Shatalin, president of the Fund for Economic and Social Reforms"]

[Text] The states which have signed the present Convention: (here insert names of states), hereinafter called the "parties to the Convention":

taking into consideration the radical transformations in the Community countries and the need to complete economic reforms;

guided by the common objectives of increasing the material well-being and spiritual development of their peoples;

wishing to live in friendship and accord, seeking to create the conditions for the free development of every individual;

drawing on the established production, scientific, technical, economic, trade, cultural, and other links;

mindful of the advantages of economic integration and the need for coordinated actions to create a single economic space as an important prerequisite for entry into the world market;

have decided to create an Economic Community and agreed to build their relations on the following basis.

Chapter 1. Membership of the Community

Article 1. The Community is founded on the basis of the equality of all states, which have entered into it voluntarily.

Article 2. States joining the Community may acquire the status of full member, associate member, or observer.

A full member is deemed to be a state that has taken upon itself in full the commitments stemming from the present Convention. Such states acquire in full the rights stipulated by the Convention.

States not taking upon themselves the fulfillment of the commitments in full may acquire the status of associate member or observer. Their status and powers are defined by a special agreement.

Article 3. The parties to the Convention, guided by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, ensure equality of rights and freedoms for all persons irrespective of citizenship, nationality, or religion, and create the conditions for the fullest possible development of the individual's creative and intellectual potential.

Article 4. The parties to the Convention adopt all measures to ensure the fulfillment of the commitments stemming from the present Convention. They proceed on the basis of mutual economic accountability for the fulfillment of the provisions of the present Convention, and refrain from any measures jeopardizing the implementation of individual commitments or of the Convention as a whole.

Article 5. The parties to the Convention have the right freely to secede from the Community, and also the right to join other Communities, unions, and other political and economic associations or agreements.

Parties that violate the rules and conditions defined by the present Convention may be expelled from the Community according to the procedure laid down by the Community.

Article 6. The Community is open for entry by other states that recognize the present Convention.

Chapter 2. General Provisions

Article 7. The parties to the Convention proceed on the principle that the basis of their economic system consists of autonomous entities engaged in economic activity. The equality of all forms of ownership and types of economic activity and entrepreneurship is recognized.

The Community member-states regulate their relations both on the basis of market mechanisms and on the basis of interstate bilateral and multilateral agreements.

The parties to the Convention undertake to establish clear legal guarantees of free enterprise and to give all-around support to its development.

Article 8. The parties to the Convention proceed on the basis that the property of state enterprises, organizations, and institutions located on their territory, with the exception of specially stipulated cases, is the property of the state in question.

Article 9. The parties to the Convention regard ensuring honorable competition between commodity producers as one of the most important conditions of the efficient functioning of their market mechanisms. In accordance with this they will implement agreed measures to overcome monopolism, and deem it expedient to establish in the Community common fundamentals of antimonopoly regulations and rules of competition.

Article 10. The parties to the Convention regard as one of the Community's most important objectives the gradual transition to the free movement of goods and services over the entire territory of the Community.

In the initial stage, possible restrictions on such movement may be preserved by an agreed decision of all the Community member-states.

Article 11. The parties to the Convention proceed on the basis that within the framework of the Community, the principles for regulating the movement of moneys, securities, and other capital belonging to individuals and legal entities should be defined on the basis of an agreement.

If the movement of financial resources causes disruption of the functioning of the capital market in any Community member-state, that state is entitled to adopt the necessary precautionary measures, immediately informing the relevant Community institution of the conditions and methods of applying them.

Article 12. The parties to the Convention will adopt measures on the basis of bilateral and multilateral agreements to regulate the movement of manpower within the Community. They will form a common labor market within the Community as the economic conditions for this are created.

Article 13. The parties to the Convention have agreed not to impose a visa system for their citizens' movements.

Chapter 3. Economic Principles

Article 14. The parties to the Convention proceed from the need for coordinated actions in the sphere of monetary, currency, and customs policy and the regulation of taxation.

Article 15. The parties to the Convention may use on their territories a single monetary unit or national currencies.

Article 16. Those parties to the Convention using the single monetary unit are to found a Banking Union on the principles of a reserve system.

The following basic functions are vested in the Banking Union:

- formulation and implementation of a coordinated monetary and credit policy;

- establishment of the procedure for effecting settlements between the central (national) banks of the Community member-states;

- coordination of the rules for the activity of commercial banks in the Community;

- organization of banks' accounting and reporting.

Article 17. Relations between the Banking Union and those Community member-states using national monetary units are governed by special agreements.

Article 18. The Banking Union is independent in its activity and acts in accordance with the Statutes laid down by those Community member-states using a single monetary unit.

Article 19. In order to monitor the activity of the Banking Union, a Supervisory Council is to be formed, including representatives of all the central (national) banks belonging to it.

Article 20. In the sphere of currency policy the parties to the Convention deem the following to be priority tasks: achieving the convertibility of currencies, managing the foreign debt, and lessening its adverse effect on their economic development.

A Currency Regulation Fund is set up to coordinate currency policy.

Article 21. The Currency Regulation Fund is formed on the basis of contributions by the parties to the Convention on a scale stipulated by the Statutes of the said fund, approved by the Community member-states.

Article 22. All new foreign loans are realized by the parties to the Convention either collectively or autonomously. In the latter case the debt is a foreign state debt of the Community member-state in question, and the costs of servicing it fall on that state alone.

Article 23. The granting of loans and other economic aid to foreign states as well as the conclusion of agreements for receiving such aid from foreign sources on behalf of the Community and for utilizing such aid takes place on the basis of an agreed decision by all the Community member-states.

Article 24. The conditions and procedure for fulfilling previously undertaken foreign economic commitments and commitments relating to contributions to international organizations, banks, and funds are to be determined in the course of talks relating to foreign debt assets and liabilities and to the transfer of gold and currency reserves to the ownership of the Community member-states.

Article 25. With a view to making provision for mutual settlements and regulation of debt commitments, the parties to the Convention will examine the question of creating a Community Payments Union.

Article 26. Trade between the parties to the Convention takes place on a duty-free basis.

Article 27. Parties to the Convention pursue a coordinated customs policy with regard to third countries.

Article 28. Parties to the Convention pursue an autonomous budgetary and tax policy within the limits of their territories.

The procedure for the formation and utilization of the budgets of Community member-states is determined by their legislation. They autonomously formulate and utilize a system of taxation, dues, and compulsory payments.

At the same time they are to hold consultations on the coordination of policy in the sphere of the regulation of the budget and taxation.

Article 29. In order to finance the Community's joint expenditure and the activity of its institutions, a Community budget is formed. To this end special-purpose fixed payments are set on a scale agreed with the Community member-states.

Article 30. With a view to preventing social conflicts and strengthening citizens' social protection, the parties to the Convention implement agreed measures in the sphere of social guarantees and employment policy.

Special targeted social funds may be set up within the Community on a bilateral and multilateral basis.

Article 31. Proceeding from the interests of the harmonization of economic activity, the parties to the Convention are to hold consultations on a single metrological service, time, weights, and measures service and systems of statistical accounting, bookkeeping, and standards, in line with world practice.

Chapter 4. Community Institutions

Article 32. In order to achieve the objectives set for the Community the parties to the Convention will found on a voluntary and parity-representation basis institutions to carry out the consultative and coordinating functions arising from the Convention.

Article 33. The exercise of the powers vested in the Community is effected by the Community Council, the Economic Committee, the Judicial Collegium, the Court of Arbitration, and specialized institutions.

Article 34. The supreme organ of the Community is the Community Council, on which each full-member state has one vote.

The Council discusses and adopts decisions on strategic questions relating to the functioning of the Community and the formation of its working bodies.

Article 35. The functions of Council chairman are performed for a six-month term by each Council member in sequence.

Article 36. The Council is convened at times agreed with all its members.

Emergency sessions of the Council are convened either on the initiative of the chairman or if at least one-third of Council members so wish.

Article 37. All Council decisions, except procedural decisions, are adopted on a consensus basis.

The Council unanimously designates a list of questions on which a decision can be adopted by qualified majority.

Article 38. Council sessions are held on the territory of the state whose representative is carrying out the chairman's duties at the given moment.

Article 39. The permanently operating working body of the Community Council is the Economic Committee, which:

- coordinates the implementation of the provisions of the present Convention;

- submits recommendations and conclusions on questions relating to the Convention;

- regularly publishes a general report on the Community's activity.

Article 40. The Committee is composed of plenipotentiary representatives of the Community member-states confirmed for a four-year term.

The Committee independently establishes the procedure for its work within the limits of its powers.

The chairman and vice chairmen are appointed by the Council for a four-year term.

The procedure for the replacement and removal of members of the Committee, including its chairman and vice chairmen, is governed by the Committee Statutes.

Article 41. In order to exercise its powers the Committee creates working bodies whose structure, budget, and operating procedure are confirmed by the Community Council.

Article 42. A Judicial Collegium is created for the purposes of ensuring the lawfulness of the interpretation and fulfillment of the present Convention, and a Community Court of Arbitration is created to resolve property and economic disputes.

Article 43. The powers of the Judicial Collegium and and Court of Arbitration, the procedure for making applications to the Collegium and the Court, and the conditions for the replacement and removal of their members are governed by a special protocol confirmed by the Community Council.

Article 44. The procedure for the formation of new specialized institutions, the reorganization and disbandment of existing ones, the limits of their powers, and

procedural questions are determined by the Economic Committee and confirmed by the Community Council.

Article 45. The parties to the Convention will found a Community Development Bank.

The members of the Bank are members of the Community. The Bank Charter is confirmed by the Community Council.

Article 46. The Bank's task is to promote, by issuing loans and providing guarantees, the financing of modernization, conversion, and production reorientation projects and other projects determined by the Bank in response to proposals from the parties to the Convention.

Article 47. The parties to the Convention are entitled to create funds on a bilateral and multilateral basis: a fundamental scientific research fund and innovation, social, structural, and other funds.

Article 48. On the authority of the parties to the Convention Community institutions can represent them in mutual relations with third countries, associations of third countries, and international organizations, including the conclusion of international treaties.

Chapter 5. Legal Foundations. Regulation of Disputes

Article 49. The parties to the Convention proceed from the principle of the paramountcy of each state's laws on its territory.

All individuals and legal entities operating on Community member-states' territory are guided by and unswervingly fulfill that state's laws and Community normative acts relating to the area of competence determined by the parties to the Convention.

Article 50. The parties to the Convention determine the procedure and adopt measures to bring into closer alignment national legislative acts and normative and other decisions having a direct bearing on the creation and functioning of a common market and the Community's activity.

Article 51. The Community Judicial Collegium is entitled to raise the question of suspending the operation of Community member-states' legislative and normative acts if they obstruct the fulfillment of commitments arising from the present Convention.

Chapter 6. Legislative Provisions

Article 52. The parties to the Convention are entitled to conclude among themselves, and also with third countries, any agreements and treaties determining relations between them on condition that the implementation of these agreements and treaties is not detrimental to Community members or the Community as a whole.

Article 53. For the full implementation of the provisions of the Convention, the parties to it deem it expedient to sign the following multilateral agreements:

[Text] on the closer alignment of national economic legislation;

on the regulation of questions relating to the property of Community member-states on the territory of other Community member-states;

on tax policy;

on monetary and credit policy;

on foreign currency policy;

on customs policy;

on transportation, energy supplies, and ecology;

on conditions for the supply of goods and services and price control;

on social guarantees;

on food resources;

on antimonopoly policy and competition;

on principles of privatization;

on the status and powers of Community institutions;

on the status of Community institution employees;

on the status of full and associate Community members;

on gold and diamond reserves;

on the fulfillment of previously adopted international commitments;

on visa-free arrangements for the movement of Community states' citizens within the bounds of the Community's territory.

The list of above-mentioned agreements can be augmented on the initiative of any Community member.

Article 54. The present Convention presupposes that the consistent creation of a Community common market will be effected in stages.

A package of measures agreed by the parties to the Convention ensuring the achievement of the objectives and realization of tasks arising from the present Convention will be implemented at each stage.

Article 55. The parties to the Convention annually examine in the Community Council the fulfillment of agreements they have signed and the progress of the implementation of measures and the fulfillment of the provisions of the Convention as a whole.

Article 56. The present Convention is subject to ratification by the Community member-states in accordance with their constitutions.

The Convention comes into force one month from the date of the deposition of instruments of ratification.

Article 57. The Convention is drawn up in the languages of the Community member-states, all texts being authentic and of equal force. The texts of Community institutions' normative acts are drawn up in Russian, which is the lingua franca of the Community, and in the languages of the Community member-states.

Article 58. The Community is an open economic system and encourages all types of economic cooperation with third countries, associations of third countries, and international organizations. The states party to the Convention provide internationally recognized guarantees for foreign property on their territory.

[Unattributed preview carried on page 1 as part of the "IZVESTIYA, TASS, AFP, AP, REUTER" roundup, under the heading "Group of Experts Proposes Principles of Economic Community," reads: "The document proposing the principles for the creation of an Economic Community of sovereign states has come as a surprise to many. Work on it began soon after the putsch. Representatives of 13 republics took part in the work on the document, under the leadership of Academician S. Shatalin. Specialists from Latvia and Moldova have now joined in the work. You can read the text of the Convention, submitted to the editorial office by the 'Reform' Foundation, on page 7. Our commentary follows in the next issue."]

Problems of Economic Management Outlined

PM0409102191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
3 Sep 91 Union Edition pp 1-2

[Report by V. Romanyuk: "How to Manage the Single Economic Space of Sovereign States?"]

[Text] There were two meetings of economics ministers and leaders of other central economic departments of the sovereign states at the Committee for the Operational Management of the Country's National Economy last Friday. One meeting was chaired by Russian premier I. Silayev, the other by Ye. Saburov, in charge of the Union ministry of economics and forecasting and leader of the equivalent Russian department. A discussion began on the draft statement which it has been proposed to read out at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

The changes in terminology caught the eye. The concept of the "Union" has been replaced the concept of the "Community." To enable the government of the sovereign states to elaborate a single economic policy, it is proposed to create common organs for the management of the Community and economic arbitration to settle disputes on economic cooperation. It is recommended that a Community budget be formed by contributions from the budgets of the member states and that joint funds—for regional aid, structural development, and so forth—be formed.

The proposed emergency measures to stabilize the economy are of special interest: the phased introduction of free prices; the commercialization of the economic

ties of enterprises on the territory of the various states; the reduction of republic budget deficits and the limitation of social programs; the impermissibility of bans on the export of output outside states or regions; the restriction of credit issue on the territory of the states—in accordance with agreed principles.

From positions expressed in the discussion you can tell what is worrying our republics on the threshold of adopting important political decisions. Here is the first problem. If we are talking about the Community, how close will the economic ties of its members be? What kind of Community will it be—like the EEC or different? "This document marks the semi-disintegration of the Union" was the gloomy assessment of the draft given by one participant in the conference. However, leaving the political rhetoric aside, the economic departments' leaders were more concerned by current problems: the principles of forming the state order for 1992 and price, taxation, and currency policy. And how the common balance of food resources, metal, construction materials, and timber will be formed.

Problem number two. What should there not be in the single economic space? A plethora of regional currencies. In many republics, even Russia, the desire to possess their own currency is strong. Each new currency means a new round of inflation.

Problem number three. The reform can hope for success if it is implemented simultaneously under identical arrangements throughout the territory of the Union or Community. A lack of synchronization may have a ruinous effect on the single economic space itself—everyone agreed on that. Particularly in the sphere of price liberalization—a single approach is more logical there.

Problem four relates to unpopular measures. Everyone is concerned about improving the people's well-being but the economic situation today is such that the question of cutting social programs has to be considered. Otherwise the budget deficit will reach ominous proportions. "I fear the adoption of a law on the indexation of incomes," Ye. Saburov stated bluntly. "That is the direct path to hyperinflation. It is necessary to have the courage to admit that in the present situation the adoption of social programs cannot achieve anything realistic."

Indeed, the breakdown of the economy has reached such a level that even the best measures no longer improve people's prosperity. That is also demonstrated by IZVESTIYA correspondents' reports.

Deputy Minister Assesses Energy Reserves

LD3108053391 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0807 30 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Soltys]

[Text] Moscow, August 30 (TASS)—"The consequences of the miners' strikes were not long in coming. Yevgeniy

Petryaev, deputy minister of energy and electrification of the USSR said in an interview with a TASS correspondent. The fall in output of coal hit the metal workers first of all, and we were in the second rank, as it were. We were only saved by having a certain reserve of fuel."

He said that so far all power systems are working normally, although a lack of coal is making itself felt. For example, the Ukraine has been forced to limit the use of electricity by five percent.

According to the deputy minister, things are worst in the northern Caucasus and Rostov oblast. The Novocherkasskaya station, one of the biggest in the area, uses Donetsk coal, but the mines of the basin have cut their output. Before, electricity used to come here from the Ukraine too, but now the Republic has itself come under a coal squeeze. Furthermore, construction of the Rostov nuclear electric power station, which was safer than those currently functioning, has been stopped at the demand of the public. So the region finds itself with an uncovered electricity deficit for many years to come.

"It is now absolutely clear," said Yevgeniy Petryaev, "that we shall not be able to create our normal winter reserve. We shall be short of at least 5 million tonnes of coal." It is easy to foresee the consequences: power units will stop work and there will be a drop in supply of electricity to enterprises and farms.

Answering the correspondent's question about the fate of the unified power grid of the country in connection with the declarations of independence by many republics, Yevgeniy Petryaev stressed that it is impossible to destroy power links—it would simply be a disaster. In his opinion, it is essential to change the organization of the administration of the system. He believes it should be headed by a power council to include plenipotentiary representatives of all the sovereign republics.

Moscow Labor Exchange Registers 23,000 Jobless

LD0109024391 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] More than 23,000 residents of Moscow have been at the city's labor exchange since 1 July looking for jobs. This has been announced by a representative of the labor exchange. Like all over the country, it began to officially register people out of work starting with that day.

About half of the people seeking jobs have a higher education and the others are low-skilled workers. In accordance with the law on unemployment, a special fund has been set up in Moscow from which unemployment benefits are paid. The fund is made up of government budget allocations and profits of industrial enterprises. The unemployment problem began to grow worse after the country started going over to a market economy. However, it has not become a mass one as some economists predicted.

Civil Air Official Cites Anti-Coup Role

LD0109033591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 31 Aug 91

["Appeal" by Anatoliy Kochur, president of the Association of Civil Aviation Flying Personnel: place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] An appeal to civil aviation flying personnel: The anti-popular putsch has failed and now, after the victory, as well as uncovering and punishing the organizers, measures must be taken to ensure that nothing like it ever happens again. In our industry, a careful investigation of the flights made by labor collectives must be carried out. For the heads of the Ministry of Civil Aviation and the majority of local chiefs displayed complete loyalty to the bandit plotters. A clear example is the action of Minister Panyukov and the heads of Domodedovo production association, who took all possible measures to delay Lobov, first deputy chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, in departing by air to Sverdlovsk in order to organize a contingency administration during the coup.

Then there was Decree 219 of the bosses of the central administration of international air communication on fulfilling all the instructions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency and in Bykovo portraits of Stalin were hung.

Only two public associations of Aeroflot, which had previously been subjected to persecution from party bodies and the leadership, the Association of Flying Personnel and the Federation of Trade Unions of Air Controllers, immediately took up a firm stance in defense of the legitimate government of Russia.

A group of airline workers, under the leadership of Kochur from Sheremetyevo, made up of Radelyevo from Bykovo, Yeliseyev and Kabayev from Vnukovo, Kuznetsov and economist Lykov from Sheremetyevo, Larin and Makachub from the Aerial airline company throughout the defense worked at the White House defense headquarters and carried out control of air space over the territory of Russia, control over the transfer of troops, provided the headquarters and the president himself with immediate information about the progress of the putsch ringleaders, and also organized and secured departure of the aircraft carrying Rutskoy and Silayev to fetch the USSR president.

The enemies have been overthrown. We must switch to creative work, and the first thing we have to do is to carry out work to purge civil aviation of those persons who supported the SCSE and who are hindering the democratization of Aeroflot. The legal basis for such work are the decrees of the president of Russia Numbers 709, 61 and 66. The Association of Flying Personnel has issued a suggestion for a commission to be set up to investigate the anti-Constitutional activity of civil aviation officials during the coup. Active support [words indistinct] is

required: hold meetings of labor collectives, adopt decisions to get rid of chiefs who have blackened themselves. At the same time, the question must be raised of transferring to a joint stock ownership, which will help to raise the prosperity of all airline workers.

Esteemed colleagues, the Government of Russia is not to blame for the situation which has come about now in civil aviation. And furthermore, it has expressed readiness without delay to put right the situation which the leaders of the Union structures brought about. The presidium of the Association of Flying Personnel has therefore adopted a decision to cancel the strike planned by the trade union for 2 September and appeals to the flying personnel to support the president of Russia's decree on stabilizing the political and economic situation in the country.

[Signed] Anatoliy Kochur, president of the Association of Civil Aviation Flying Personnel

Agriculture

Corn Harvest Begins; Belorussian Harvest Ending

LD3108053591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 0200 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Summary] Farms in Chimkent oblast have started harvesting corn for grain. Yields are good. Many farms in Kazakhstan are preparing the land for spring sowing. Grain and groats are being threshed on the last million hectares in the Ukraine. The average harvest is 28 quintals per hectare, nearly 10 quintals less than last year. Harvesting of corn is under way. In the north and western oblasts it is time to start winter sowing, but large areas there are not yet ready for sowing, and there is not enough seed. The government is taking measures to transfer seed there from neighboring oblasts.

Harvesting is ending in Belorussia. Grains and beans have been cleared from more than 90 percent of the area. The yield of 28.7 quintals per hectare is lower than last year. Sales to the state are also lagging.

Far Eastern Harvest, Food Stocks Assessed

PM0309154791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 91 p 1

[Report by correspondent S. Avdeyev: Big Ones, But Five Rubles a Go"]

[Text] Far East—In Kamchatka and Sakhalin Oblasts and the Maritime Kray food is rationed, with coupons being on average 90 percent redeemable in Sakhalin and Kamchatka and less than that—72.4—in the Maritime Kray. A small range of vegetables and fruit from Central Asia—supplied by cooperatives and associations—is freely available. It is the salmon fishing season in Sakhalin and Kamchatka. In the Maritime Kray the harvest is going to waste because there is no one to bring it in. There are not even any potatoes in state stores.

Strategic stocks remain intact, at least in the Maritime Kray.

The region has received small amounts of humanitarian aid from the United States and Japan. Two shiploads of free bananas (from Vietnam and Ecuador) arrived at Sakhalin, where the bananas were sold first at seven and then at five rubles per kilogram (the money went to the Sakhalin development fund). Alaska is helping out with pink salmon.

Standard residues at warehouses and trade depots throughout the region have been considerably reduced, there is a rapid turnover, and the diet has changed drastically. Demand for flour and grain products has increased.

Russian Agriculture Minister on Harvest

LD3008140891 Moscow Central Television Vostok
Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1500 GMT
29 Aug 91

[Interview with Russian Federation Agriculture Minister G.V. Kulik by correspondent V. Golubev; place and date not given; from unidentified newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Golubev] What measures are being planned to stabilize the situation in the countryside and what indeed will be done to prevent us from falling, so to speak, into a pit with respect to food?

[Kulik] The procurement of grain is proceeding very slowly in the country, in Russia, and in many areas. Let me say frankly that the harvest yield exceeded our estimates, but with regard to bread grain purchases there is, as yet, a very low level of activity. What measures have we decided to adopt then? We are now seeking an additional amount of material resources, and we want a decision to be adopted so that September's production of motor vehicles, tractors, automobiles, and building materials in particular will be assigned to the countryside in return for grain, cotton, sunflower, potatoes, vegetables, and other crops.

We are now giving the leaders of industrial enterprises, organizations, and educational establishments the right to take personal responsibility for fulfilling the decisions of local bodies of executive power linked to the harvest. Moreover, serious decisions are being made in this respect to the effect that those leaders who are not carrying out the decisions—and unfortunately we have a large number of cases in which the decisions of local executive bodies of power relating to the sending of workers to the harvest and to dispatching transport are not being carried out—those leaders are to be held liable in accordance with existing legislation.

The committee intends to seek additional resources and assign 1 million tonnes of additional petrol and 1 million tonnes of diesel fuel to the countryside.

[Golubev] I should like you to dispel doubts that now exist among our viewers and especially among our rural viewers by stating that the committee will under no circumstance engage in persecution in response to sabotage—that word is already in use and being aired—that it will not engage in unlawful confiscations, and that food confiscation squads will not be going into the countryside, as has already occurred.

[Kulik] With such methods, we would not only not get through the winter, we would not even survive until the first frosts. We are therefore indeed seeking new approaches about which I have already told you with a view to tackling this complex problem in the joint interests of both the agrarian complex and the national economy as a whole.

Commentary Views Harvest Progress

PM0509080591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 91 p 1

[Unattributed "Commentary by the Socioeconomic Problems Department"]

[Text] As expected, during the putsch goods and foodstuffs suddenly appeared in a number of regions. That the "glut" would only have lasted for several weeks at most did not matter; what mattered was the temporary support for the junta, and then the people would have been forced to remain silent. They had seen it all before. What we really must know is whether people are going to go hungry, which they kept on telling us was inevitable as they prepared the coup. By the end of August more than 60 percent of the sown area had been threshed (last year, a record year, incidentally, the figure on that date was worse). Although the yield is lower this year, but only by 8 percent, not by one-half or two-thirds, as specified by the political Jeremiahs.

The meat and milk situation is more complex. In the future animals will not be fed on grain alone, but feed procurement is 8 million tonnes down on last year and there has been a reduction in the number of livestock. Nonetheless, here again one should not artificially dramatize the situation. In Russia cars, construction materials, and equipment are being provided in return for grain and feed. Formerly hard currency was provided as an incentive for peasants only after 40 million tonnes of grain had been delivered to the state; now it is after 20 million tonnes. Increased prices for peas, rice, and groats have been introduced. The Russian leadership has found extra sources of hard currency for the purchase of grain and foodstuffs abroad.

Around 3 million tonnes of vegetables have been procured.

We were assured in the "food departments" that people will not go hungry. Although, both allies and opponents

of the USSR assert, there is a need for a single, country-wide economic space and coordination rather than disintegration of the state. We will find it much harder to survive separately, if we do not vanish altogether.

'Saboteurs' Damage Combines in Kirovograd Oblast

PM0209091591 Moscow Central Television First
Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 17 Aug 91

[From the "Television News Service" newscast: Report by Yu. Repeynik and A. Uzhva, identified by caption]

[Text] [Repeynik] During this harvest campaign farms in Kirovograd Oblast have again suffered at the hands of saboteurs. At night they damaged the wheels of 74 of the tractor team's tractors, combines, and seed drills at the Nechepayev [as heard] kolkhoz. The machine operators have still not got everything working. Last year there were similar cases in neighboring Dobrovelichkovskiy Rayon. Just as then—despite the militia's efforts—the culprits have not been found. This time attempts have been made to ascribe everything to young hooligans, but not even every adult is capable of making two or four punctures in the wheel of a tractor trailer or a Don combine. Now everyone has calmed down and people are saying that the harvest has ended. This is futile—if they go unpunished the culprits will only feel a stronger desire to create havoc. What guarantee is there that this won't happen again during the fall sowing?

Scientific

Specialists Note Space Program 'Concerns'

PM0209111391 Moscow Central Television First
Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast: Report by A. Gerasimov and B. Antsiferov, from the flight control center]

[Text] To what extent are politics and space research linked? This is the theme of a report by our correspondent who was at the flight control center last night for the docking of the Progress M-9 cargo craft and the Mir orbital station.

[Gerasimov] Every docking is followed with bated breath by everyone gathered at the flight control center. After all, the not very smooth dockings of manned and cargo spacecraft modules are by no means forgotten. For instance, the Progress M-7 nearly crashed into the station at the beginning of the year.

However, the concerns of the team of specialists gathered in the control room are of a different kind today. The space sector is after all a component of the military-industrial complex whose leaders were the organizers of the putsch. And now the engineers and scientists are quite naturally afraid that the vast intellectual and technological potential of space science, a potential built up over the decades by people who were as far removed from plots and putsches as the Progress M-9 craft, might

be dissipated during the upcoming reorganization of the military-industrial complex. Incidentally, no one questions the need for this reorganization.

As for the the Progress M-9, it docked successfully, delivering purely civilian cargo—scientific equipment for the upcoming Soviet-Austrian flight, fuel, food, and water.

Increased Funding for Space Programs Urged

PM0209153391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Aug 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast: Report by A. Gerasimov and B. Antsiferov]

[Text] There's one more satellite in space. Our correspondent reports from Baykonur.

[Gerasimov] They say that our space sector is ruining the country. That we should feed our people first and launch rockets later. I'd like to put forward an idea that may sound seditious these days—we are making disgracefully poor use of our space technology. Today's launch is an example. India has paid around \$20 million for the launch into orbit of its IRS-1B satellite. This is the fifth joint launch, and each one has been paid for in hard currency. But specialists say that the two Soviet space centers could handle far more. The Western restrictions on technological cooperation with the Soviet Union and the famous Cocom [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] lists are forcing the space goose that lays the golden eggs to stand idle. Even one-shot contracts with industrial countries for manned missions can't paper over the huge cracks in a house that is, admittedly, not built yet. Understandably, the ban on cooperation with the Soviets was ideologically motivated, but it seems as though this obstacle crumbled a week ago. And if the Western countries enter into normal cooperation with us, space could be one of the few areas where the USSR has something to offer.

[Professor U.R. Rao, technical leader of the project] In three years' time we plan to launch another satellite in this series on a Soviet rocket. We hope that subsequent spacecraft will be placed in orbit by Indian equipment.

[Gerasimov] Even India—not one of the world's richest countries—has long since grasped the need to develop space research and invest adequate funds in it. Here's one detail: The satellite launched today should be operational for no less than four years—a guaranteed period longer than many Soviet spacecraft. The number of countries building their own launchers is growing apace. And if finance for the once-secret Ministry of General Machine Building is stopped, we could in future find ourselves permanently adrift of the rest of the world's space effort. Incidentally, if you look at the entire space budget, it works out to 10 kopeks per person per day. Is that too much?

'Secrecy' Lifted From Tomsk Space Facility

LD0309011591 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1500 GMT 2 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Excerpt] Secrecy was lifted from yet another enterprise which has been under the secret seal for decades. It was the Tomsk scientific production association Polyus. The association's design offices, laboratories and shops were full of festive animation on the eve of each launch, starting with the launch of the first artificial Earth satellite, to space stations and ending up with the flight of the Buran space shuttle. [passage omitted]

Doors Open To Public

PM0409143991 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1500 GMT 2 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast: Report by G. Chudnyy and G. Shkabardin]

[Text] Yet another enterprise has entered the public domain after being secret for decades. The enterprise in question is the Polyus Scientific and Production Association in Tomsk.

[Chudnyy] From the launch of the first satellites and space stations to the flights by the Buran space shuttle there has always been a festive mood in the association's design bureaus, laboratories, and shops. At the association's museum we were shown hundreds of the most varied systems developed in Tomsk and installed on communications satellites, weather satellites, and space stations. These systems have proved reliable tools for geodesists, navigators, and seamen. In the spotlessly clean shops people are assembling spacecraft power supply, attitude control, and propulsion systems. The process of developing new technology requires a supreme level of knowledge on the part of the designers and meticulous skills from the workers. [video shows A.I. Chernyshov, deputy general science director at the association]

[Chernyshov] For instance, take our autonomous power supply system for spacecraft which makes it possible in principle—and, of course, in conjunction with the work done by associated plants—to double or triple a craft's working life. That's a big saving for the national economy, even given the reduced number of spacecraft.

[Chudnyy] The association's collective is currently celebrating its 40th anniversary. The very fact that the developers of these space systems aren't marking their anniversary behind closed doors but are doing so extensively and cordially is doubly gratifying. Their guests included cosmonauts, scientists, delegations from associate plants, and journalists.

Military

'Justifiable Fears' Over Nuclear Controls Raised

LD0109022691 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service
in English 1210 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Aleksandr Pogodin commentary]

[Text] A host of painful issues is now coming to the fore as the prospect of the Soviet Union's disintegration becomes ever more real. One is who will be in charge of Soviet nuclear stockpiles. Commentary is by Aleksandr Pogodin and this is what he writes:

This is all the more important given the newly emerging situation in the country in the wake of last week's failed coup. The president of France's Fund for National Defense Studies, Pierre Debasisse, said that amid general chaos there was no firm guarantee of Soviet nuclear weapons being seized by the republics. [sentence as heard]

Britain's ITN network reports many Western diplomats increasingly speak of nightmarish scenarios whereby several nuclear powers may emerge instead of one as before. The United States Administration is also said to be fearing that the Soviet Union's nuclear arsenal may fall into the hands of separate republics.

For his part, President Francois Mitterrand raised serious concern over who'll be in charge of Soviet nuclear arms after a number of republics break away from Moscow. He's worried that the republics may lay their hands on bombs as powerful as one or two Hiroshimas.

Similar anxieties can be heard these days in the Soviet parliament now sitting in Moscow.

The prospect is indeed appalling, to say the least. How does Moscow appraise the situation?

The Russian leader, Boris Yeltsin, speaking after talks with President Gorbachev, said the issue would come under discussion by the National Security Council with republican leaders taking part.

Mr. Yeltsin said the country's nuclear weapons were deployed in three Soviet republics—Russia, the Ukraine and Kazakhstan. Following the Ukraine's declaration of denuclearizing itself, the weapons would be redeployed in the Russian Federation.

To allay fears, the Soviet Chief of Staff, General Lobov, said long-range and tactical weapons were under stringent control, including appropriate technical and arrangement measures, reliable protection and defense of nuclear warheads and delivery vehicles which would help deter unauthorized use of nuclear arms.

It's to be hoped that such weighty statements can help ease justifiable fears over a possible proliferation of Soviet nuclear weapons.

General Staff's Lobov on Nuclear Arms Control

LD0509095991 Moscow TASS in English
0952 GMT 5 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovsky]

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—"The Soviet Union is a single economic space, and this means that nuclear arms should be in the hands of the centre," head of the Soviet Armed Forces' General Staff Vladimir Lobov told TASS.

Lobov said the centre should also control nuclear arms, because the growing number of nuclear states would make the world less secure. "Transferring part of the Soviet Union's nuclear potential to Union republics is out of the question," Lobov said.

If the Ukraine or Kazakhstan secede from the Soviet Union, the country's leadership should determine the fate of nuclear weapons. "We have people in the country to resolve such issues. We, the military, are ready to give necessary consultations on the whole complex of issues connected with nuclear weapons," Lobov said.

Speaking about the current situation, Lobov said the general staff fully controls the Soviet Union's nuclear potential on the country's territory. He noted that places, where nuclear arms are being stored, are kept under constant control.

"I can state with full responsibility that we are securely guarding all our strategic nuclear forces, their location and combat duty sites," Lobov said.

Makashov's Activity During Coup Reported

PM0309140991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
3 Sep 91 Union Edition p 8

[IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Tarasov report: "What Was General Makashov Doing During the Coup?"]

[Text] Sverdlovsk—Political officers Major L. Kozlov and Lieutenant Colonel V. Sorokin from the Mitava artillery regiment stationed near Sverdlovsk have appealed to IZVESTIYA. They said: It would be naive to think that democratic forces have won an out-and-out victory. The officers have information that arouses most serious disquiet, but it cannot be made public in the artillery men's opinion—this information probably constitutes a "military secret."

However, the officers made a suggestion that could play a definite role in averting undesirable excesses: Urgent steps must be taken to prevent large-scale military exercises during the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. L. Kozlov and V. Sorokin reckon that games with tanks and aviation at this time are hardly appropriate. In the future this provision—it should also included a ban on exercises during congresses of Russian people's deputies—should be added to the draft law on defense.

The officers described how their unit greeted the news of the putsch. The troops were put on increased combat alert 19 August. On the basis of coded messages from A. Makashov, commander of the Volga-Urals Military District, political personnel had to urge soldiers to back the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

Later orders came from the district staff for all telephone messages and coded messages sent by A. Makashov 19 through 21 August to be destroyed. (I also received this information from other sources). But it proved possible to take a copy of one coded message—No. 11/1734 of 20 August.

"To commanders of units and formations under district jurisdiction.

"Various groupings are increasing their infiltration of the troops' territory. They are seeking to make contact with servicemen and work is under way to demoralize troops.

"IT IS NECESSARY:

"1. For commanders and political personnel to step up patriotic work. A soldier and officer cannot fail to be a patriot. The main theoretical base for work is the 'Appeal to the People' in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA signed by eight patriots, including military chiefs Gromov and Varennikov.

"2. For agents, cosmopolitans, and traitors to the Homeland and the Union to be arrested, interrogated, and handed over to law-enforcement organs after their identity has been ascertained.

"3. To continue to maintain a high level of combat readiness.

"4. To create conditions for subunits on combat alert duty to rest, eat, and sleep.

"[Signed] A. Makashov."

This document causes me to ask just one question: Why eight patriots? The "Appeal to the People" was signed by 12 people. Which of them does Makashov not rank as patriots? Perhaps, A. Tizyakov and V. Starodubtsev are among the four not awarded this title?

The artillery political personnel reckon that Makashov sent these coded message because he was sure that the order would be carried out. In order to change the state of affairs whereby a soldier has to carry out any order—even one that is known to be anticonstitutional—it is necessary, in L. Kozlov's opinion, to transfer to the jurisdiction of the country's president questions relating to control of troops and their combat activity and command of formations. All personnel should swear an oath to the USSR President. Incidentally, the Appeal to Officers of the Armed Forces adopted by a group of officers from the Mitava regiment says this.

V. Sorokin and L. Kozlov reckon that the departyization of the Army and military reform will be carried out not by instructions from the apparatus but only if people's deputies immediately take control of these processes.

Claims About GRU Coup Activities Denied

PM0309085591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 30 Aug 91 p 1

[A. Korzun report: "Main Intelligence Directorate Is Authorized To Clarify: They Were There But Did Not Participate"]

[Text] "In fact military intelligence staffers disguised in civilian clothing were on Moscow's streets and squares during the days of the putsch"—I was told this yesterday by one of the most senior leaders of the USSR Defense Ministry General Staff Main Intelligence Directorate, who expressed his reaction to the article: "GRU [Main Intelligence Directorate]: Is the Water in the 'Aquarium' Due for a Change?"

If you remember, in an interview for our paper, GRU Chief Army General V. Mikhailov said that not one of the intelligence officers had been sent to "observe or look at anything."

According to the officer who telephoned the editorial office, the brief of the intelligence officers "on mission" on the streets had nothing to do with shadowing "unreliable" people.

"We received information that the troops deployed in the capital had in fact simply been 'forgotten' by their command. For some hours, the soldiers and officers—who had left their barracks early in the morning—were left unfed. The military started to grumble. So, it was decided to send our disguised staffers out in two vehicles to inspect the troops and clarify the situation. The information was confirmed. We took measures, the result of which was that the soldiers were fed.

"As for your references to Colonel Kondrashov's allegations to the effect that all information on the 'rebels and ringleaders' was channeled to GRU First Deputy Chief Yuriy Gusev, I want to say to you that we have a special department for such purposes with a fairly large staff. Even Yu. Gusev himself learned of the 19 August coup through a German television program. At the time, he was on a mission in Germany."

Presidential Guard Head on Coup Lessons, Future

LD0409194691 Moscow TASS in English
1703 GMT 4 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Shvedova]

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—Crucial changes will soon occur in the system of the Presidential Guard, Colonel Vladimir Redkobodiy, 54, told TASS.

In accordance with a decree of the Soviet president, Vladimir Redkobodiy has been recently appointed head of the Guard Department under the Soviet president staff.

Lessons of the coup demonstrated, first of all, that the Department should be independent of the State Security Committee, Redkobodiy stressed.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin have agreed that the Department will provide for the functioning of security service for both presidents.

A special commission has been established to prepare proposals on the upgrading of the guard system and the clarification of its legal status.

According to Redkobodiy, professionalism and reliability are the major criteria for selecting staff. Since most of the staff proved to be both high professionals and reliable people during the August events, we will not part with them, the colonel said.

On the contrary, gifted staffers can count on promotion. The confirmation of the colonel's words is the appointment of Major Valeriy Pestov, a staffer of Mikhail Gorbachev's personal guard, to the post of the head of the Soviet president's security service, and Major Oleg Klimov—the first deputy head of the Guard Department.

Reorganising the Guard system, we are trying to use a wise experience that has been accumulated over many years, in particular, the professional training process, from which the influence of the party committee is now naturally excluded.

Asked about his career, Redkobodiy said that he has been working in state security bodies for 30 years. He began his service as a junior sergeant in the Ninth Department of the Soviet State Security Committee, and for the recent years he has been working in the First Department—External Intelligence.

Position of Volga-Urals Commander Questioned

PM2708101691 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 3

["Our correspondent" I. Birabov report: "Makashov Will Have To Do Some Thinking!" Item is part of a three-quarter page feature put together by Andrey Krayniy under the general headline "This Is No Business for Generals... But All the Same It Is a Good Thing That the People and the Army Are United"]

[Text] Journalists in Samara tried in vain to find out something from [Volga-Urals Military District commander] Makashov and about Makashov during those "lively" days 19-21 August. But then the following document turned up at the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA office. It is interesting, its lack of topicality notwithstanding.

Order No. 337 of 20 August signed by the district commander. I quote:

"1. The policy of the State Committee for the State of Emergency to rescue the country is to be explained among servicemen, using all forms of work. 2. Emis-saries, cosmopolitans, and traitors to the homeland and the Union are to be detained, interrogated, and handed over to law-enforcement organs. 3. Patriotic work among soldiers and officers is to be stepped up. The 'Appeal to the People' in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA is the main theoretical base for work. 4. Supreme combat readiness shall continue to be maintained and equipment and arms prepared for combat operations."

I did not succeed in finding out from the district staff whether the order has yet been canceled. Perhaps they are still ready for combat?

End to 'Secrecy' of Military Exercises Urged

PM2908082791 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 2002 GMT 17 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast: Vladivostok report by M. Voznesenskiy and A. Kovalenko, identified by caption]

[Text] [Voznesenskiy] Some 19 warships, 34 aircraft and helicopters, and approximately 10,000 officers and seamen took part in the three-day maneuvers. They were rehearsing coastal and sea-lane defense. The Pacific Fleet is the only Soviet fleet to invite—for the second time now—foreign observers and journalists to such major exercises. It is time to open up and stop the futile secrecy. In any book store in Japan you'll find a book describing our red banner missile fleet down to the last tug. Observers represented the fleets of eight Asian states. The United Arab Emirates even showed interest. But there were no representatives from South or North Korea. Japan and the United States reacted to the invitation in their own way. They sent an Orion aerial reconnaissance aircraft to our sea border. This means that our officers are not expected at the "Team Spirit" exercises. Fleet Commander Admiral Khvatov still hopes that consistent steps toward openness will build Pacific trust.

Deputy Defense Minister Questioned on Weapons

LD3008171691 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service
in English 1210 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Since some of the constituent republics have proclaimed full independence, there is a grave threat that the Soviet Armed Forces in general and the nuclear potential in particular may split. What does the deputy Soviet defense minister think about it? Army General Yuriy Yashin:

Yuriy Yashin is saying take the strategic troops, the rocket troops, the strategic fleet, the strategic aviation, because of their organization, technical solutions, and some other factors, they can be controlled only by the

center—the center and nothing else. If this control over the key armed services is decentralized, they will lose, technically at least, their defense capability.

No wonder; these armed services make the nation's strategic potential. No rocket launcher can be controlled at regiment, division, or command level, in Archangel region for example. This is just impossible. Centralized control is a must.

Deputy Defense Minister Yuriy Yashin also singled out political considerations. Everybody must understand it is impermissible to inflate the number of nuclear nations, otherwise action on international agreements would be in question; to be exact, agreements to scale down arms, including the Soviet-American treaty recently signed at top level to slash strategic offensive weapons. There are two guarantees that nothing of the kind can happen. One is the political determination of the central Soviet leadership; the other, the technical aspect. It would cost so much to dismantle the control system, maintain strategic complexes, train personnel, and solve other problems, that no republic could meet this cost single-handed.

The conventional armed forces is another story. Constituent republics may adopt some units. The Soviet Defense Ministry is already specifying. This will be part of a military reform. The Russian Federation, for one, has already appointed its own defense minister.

There's one more question to Deputy Defense Minister Yashin. What kind of relations would he like to see between the central Defense Ministry and local defense ministries?

Yuriy Yashin is saying they must be honest and friendly to fulfill the defense missions of both the Russian Federation and the nation as a whole. Understandably, these relations must be reflected in a supplement to the Union Treaty.

New Commanders of Military Districts Named

LD0209120891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1037 GMT 2 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 2 Sep (TASS)—Several appointments among the Supreme Command of the USSR Armed Forces have been made by decrees of the USSR president. [passage omitted]

The following have been appointed commanders of military districts: Transbaykal—50-year-old Lieutenant General Valeriy Tretyakov; Moscow—45-year-old Lieutenant General Vladimir Toporov; Baltic—47-year-old Lieutenant General Valeriy Mironov. Certain appointments have also been made within the central apparatus of the USSR Ministry of Defense and the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces.

Baltic Independence Not Raised at Congress*LD0409121591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network
in Lithuanian 1045 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[Summary] Former People's Deputy, Algimantas Cekuolis phoned Lithuanian Radio from Moscow and said: "If the question of Lithuanian independence is raised at this congress, it could turn out badly because there is barely a quorum, only two-thirds of the deputies are present. If some 200 deputies voted against recognition, this would mean the question was raised, but that it had been voted not to recognize." It is perhaps not too important. After all most of the world now recognizes us. Nevertheless, we cannot cut ourselves off geographically from the USSR.

"Both Aleksandr Yakovlev and Gorbachev also fear raising the question. Therefore, the following has been decided: not to raise this issue at the Congress, to prepare a decree of the USSR President in which the independence of Lithuania is recognized, and as soon as the Congress is concluded this decree will be made public. The decree is being prepared with our participation. I do not want to reveal all the details to you. I can only read to you how the first and last points of this draft decree sound [read in Russian]: "Taking into consideration the illegal nature of the actions of the leadership of the USSR in 1939-40 in relation to the Republic of Lithuania, an independent subject of international law and member of the League of Nations, the state independence of the state in question is to be considered restored."

And the last point: To instruct the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs to restore diplomatic relations with the Republic of Lithuania.

"There will be three such drafts, specifically relating to each of the Baltic republics."

Baltic Military Commander on Service, Withdrawal*LD0409160691 Moscow TASS in English
1548 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[Text] Riga September 4 TASS—Valery Mironov, the commander of the Baltic Military District, refuted information published by the IZVESTIA newspaper that young men called for military service from the Baltic republics are to be dismissed from the Soviet Armed Forces.

"As the Soviet defence minister told me, these issues are now under consideration, and some of them will, probably, be solved positively," Mironov told TASS.

At the same time, the press centre of the military district has issued a statement saying "persons called for military service from the Baltic republics will continue their service until the legally-established service term expires", the general said.

Mironov also thinks the solution of such issues is the prerogative of the governments of the Union and each of the republics, and they should be solved at the inter-governmental level.

The general refuted rumours that the troops of the district are being removed and are going to leave the Baltics.

"The troops' task is simple—to keep up the military training of all structures at a proper level, and now the overwhelming majority of officers and generals of the district command are staying in the forces," the general said.

In the opinion of Mironov, the elaboration of the status of the armed forces stationed in the Baltics requires much work at government level.

"In connection with the republics' declaration of independence, the alienation of Union structures, including the military, has accelerated. But, to my mind, it is not always done in a civilized way," the general stressed.

In this way Mironov gave the assurance that existing structural relations between Union republics—political, economic, cultural and military—cannot break off within a day.

"If the question of the stationing of the Soviet Armed Forces here will be put bluntly, one should understand this process is a complicated one, involving many aspects, and will require a lot of time," Mironov said.

In any case, the status of stationing troops should be clarified, but not by the military on the spot, he stressed.

These military can put forward their proposals, but the solution should be taken by the parliaments and governments on a legal basis, he added.

Canada To Offer Baltics \$10 Million in Aid*OW0409221891 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1900 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Canadian Foreign Trade Minister Michael Wilson told a press conference in Riga on September 3 that the government of his country plans to give the Baltics a \$10 million economic aid. Mr. Wilson heads the Canadian delegation which has come to Riga to sign a protocol on the re-establishment of diplomatic ties between Canada and Latvia.

According to Mr. Wilson, the Canadian government has suggested that the Baltics be considered countries belonging to the nation-states of Central and Eastern Europe which receive aid under special program. Canada also plans to send a number of retired Canadian specialists as advisers to the Baltics. Mr. Wilson also said that Canadian businessmen are interested in developing cooperation with the Baltics.

Estonia

U.S. Diplomatic Relations Resume 4 Sep

OW0409221691 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1900 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonia and the USA have formally restored diplomatic relations on September 4, when an appropriate protocol was signed by Estonia's Foreign Minister Lennart Meri and Deputy Assistant of the US Secretary of State Curtis Kamman.

The two countries will exchange diplomatic representatives holding the rank of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary. Before this, however, the decision by the US Administration will have to be approved by the American Senate.

Mr Kamman and Mr Paul Goble, head of the Baltic states section in the US State Department, met with the President of Estonia's Supreme Council, Mr Arnold Ruutel, on September 4 to hand him a message from President George Bush formally confirming Washington's intention to restore diplomatic ties with Estonia.

The press-secretary of the US Embassy in Moscow, Mr John Ohta told BF [BALTFAX] that American ambassadors to the Baltic states will be appointed next week. He also said that following the renewal of diplomatic relations with the Baltics, the US Ambassador to the USSR Mr Robert Strauss will no longer be authorized to engage in any activities relating to these republics because this will cease to be within his brief.

Shatalin To Assist in Carrying Out Reform

OW0409195091 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1645 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On September 4 Estonian Premier Edgar Savisaar met in Moscow with academic Stanislav Shatalin, a leading Soviet economist. They agreed to form a group of prominent Soviet economic experts-advisers to help carry out economic reform in Estonia. Stanislav Shatalin will be head of the group. The group is scheduled to hold its first meeting in mid-September.

Bank President Seeks Gold Reserves From Sweden

OW0409220091 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1900 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A large part of the gold that used to belong to Estonia has been preserved intact, said Mr Rein Otsason, President of the Bank of Estonia, in an interview to a newspaper named "Rahva Haal". He said that until 1940, when Estonia became part of the USSR, its gold

reserves had been stored in Switzerland, Great Britain and Sweden. The latter two countries, however, gave Estonian gold to the Soviet Union, with the Great Britain transferring 14 tons and Sweden - 2.9 tons.

According to an Estonian newspaper "Postimees", Sweden's Foreign Minister Sten Andressen "advised Estonia to demand that the Soviet Union return it its gold", when he visited the republic last week.

That portion of gold which had been deposited in the Swiss Bank for International Settlements in Basel was transported to the United States after the Second World War.

According to "Postimees", it is there that it still stored at the Fort Knox military base. Its value is US\$16-17m.

Communist Party Plenum Meets 3 Sep

OW0409154991 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1400 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A plenary meeting of the independent Estonian Communist Party [ECP] was held in Tallinn Tuesday to discuss the future of the party.

It was pointed out at the meeting that currently the ECP is the only independent Communist Party in the Baltics and in Eastern Europe, where Communist Parties have been renamed and have changed their programs. The ECP is the only party in Estonia which opposes the increasing right-wing deviation in Estonian politics.

The ECP numbers about 5,000 members. Last week it voluntarily transferred most of its property to the republic, retaining only a small building in Tallinn. Earlier, activities of the Estonian CPSU branch were suspended and its assets nationalized.

The plenum has rejected the proposal to dissolve itself.

In an interview with BF [BALTFAX], the ECP Secretary Harri Roots said that the party wants "to be the average between traditional bolshevism and Social Democracy." In this connection, the meeting discussed a number of new names for the party, including "the Left Democratic Party", "the Party of Social Progress", etc. A final decision on that issue will be taken at the party congress to open later this year.

Russia Requests Return of Embassy Building

OW0409155991 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1400 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Oleg Popovich, a representative of the Russian government in Estonia, requested the Estonian government to return the former USSR and Russian Federation embassy building in Tallinn to Russia. As BF [BALTFAX] learned from the Estonian government

press office, in 1921 the building had been bought by the Russian government for 30 million Estonian crores.

The building, situated in Tallinn's Old Town in Pikk street currently houses part of the Estonian Interior Ministry. However, under Estonia's law on property, it should be returned to its former owner, i.e. the Russian Federation.

Daily Reports Embassies To Open in 'Near Future'

OW0409155191 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1400 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with the newspaper "POSTIMEES" the Estonian Foreign Ministry press secretary Tiit Pruuli said that in the near future the Estonian Supreme Council plans to consider the draft law on the status of Estonia's representations abroad.

Mr. Pruuli pointed out that, given hard currency shortages, Estonia can open its embassies only in "key countries", such as Finland, Sweden, USSR and Germany. Estonia also would like to have its representations in Brussels to maintain relations with the E.C. [European Community] and Benilux, as well as at the U.N. bodies in Geneva and New York.

Estonian Deputy Foreign Minister Rein Mullerson said a few days ago that Estonia should have about 10 embassies abroad. Running costs of one embassy with 2 employees are estimated at \$150,000-200,000 annually.

Two Deputies Stripped of Parliamentary Immunity

OW0409155591 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1400 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday the Estonian Supreme Council stripped Aleksandr Tsvinev, former chairman of the Kohtla-Jarve city council, and Smirnov, a member of the city council, leader of the city's CPSU organization, of parliamentary immunity.

Both deputies will be put on trial for their actions during the unconstitutional coup in the USSR. As BF [BALTFAX] reported earlier, the so-called "Operational Committee" collaborating with the Emergency Committee was set up in Kohtla-Jarve then.

Last week Tsvinev resigned from the post of the city council chairman.

Diplomatic Relations With Switzerland Restored

OW0409155391 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1400 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the Estonian Foreign Ministry's press service, Estonia and Switzerland restored diplomatic relations Wednesday.

The Estonian Deputy Foreign Minister Rein Mullerson and the Swiss Foreign Ministry top official Jenö C. A. Staehelin signed the notes during the solemn ceremony at the Estonian Foreign Ministry building. The two sides will exchange ambassadors in the near future.

Latvia

Economic Agreement Signed With Kyrgyzstan

OW0409125191 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1100 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Next year Latvia and Kyrgyzstan guarantee to sell each other at least 70 percent of the strategic products they delivered to each other in 1990, and other deliveries would be made in barter or other kinds of trade. This agreement was reached during a visit to Riga by a delegation of Kyrgyz experts who had come to the republic to work out a mechanism for reciprocal deliveries for 1992. The sides decided that the deliveries will be on the basis of the use value of the products, not of their price in Rbs [rubles]. Kyrgyzstan's chief items of export to Latvia are wool and tobacco, and Latvia's, glass fibre, knitted wear, domestic electronics and other consumer goods.

Former KGB Chief: All Documents Preserved

LD0409182891 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
0800 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Today Edwards Johansons, chairman of the former Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic State Security Committee, met journalists, and stated that the archives of the State Security Committee have been fully preserved, and that no documents have been destroyed. Until the end of September the former employees of the State Security Committee will continue making an inventory of property and will hand over the material to a Latvian supreme council commission. During the meeting with journalists they were also shown the premises of the State Security Committee isolation unit.

OMON Facilities Transferred to Republic

OW0509145091 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1400 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The territory of the Latvian OMON's [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] base has been transferred under the control of the Latvian Interior Ministry's Department of Corrective Institutions. According to the Department, the facilities and communication lines on

the base's territory had not been damaged. A decision on further use of the base will be taken in the near future.

Foreign Countries' Properties Restored

OW0509121291 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1120 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday the Latvian parliament passed a resolution on foreign countries' property interests on the republic's territory. In conformance with the republican laws, the resolution restores the rights of foreign legal entities and individuals to their property confiscated in 1940 following the annexation of Latvia by the Soviet Union. It is planned to return to foreign countries their former embassies and consulates buildings after they establish diplomatic relations with Latvia. A member of the Latvian parliament Andris Drutups told BF [BALTFAX] that the return of property will be regulated by a special law currently being prepared.

Lithuania

Italian Daily Interviews Vagnorius

PM0409140891 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian
31 Aug 91 pp 8-9

[Interview with Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius by Pietro Veronese; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] Vilnius—[passage omitted] [Veronese] Prime Minister, what point has Lithuania reached on the road to full independence?

[Vagnorius] We have completed the first stage. But, as they say, he who makes a good start... We have surmounted a good 50 percent of the difficulties that we faced.

[Veronese] What will the second stage be?

[Vagnorius] To consolidate our independence within the European context. To gain economic independence.

[Veronese] Is full sovereignty, providing your own defense, and border control a subordinate matter?

[Vagnorius] Some kind of threat could come from the East, from the Soviet border, if the USSR's disintegration were to exceed a certain limit. Be that as it may, the Lithuanian armed forces' strength will be maintained at the minimum level needed to guarantee our security.

[Veronese] I do not understand. You are saying that Lithuania fears the USSR's collapse.

[Vagnorius] Lithuania has nothing to do with the disintegration of the USSR, because it was never legally part of it. It was just an occupied country. In fact it is exactly

the opposite: If Gorbachev had resolved the Baltic problem a year ago the USSR's present crisis would be much less serious.

[Veronese] What kind of Soviet Union would best serve Lithuania's national interest?

[Vagnorius] A democratic and peaceful state firmly oriented toward the market economy. Or the present federation could continue, with some structural changes.

[Veronese] In which direction does Lithuania's future lie? To the East or to the West?

[Vagnorius] We are in a different situation from Estonia and Latvia; we are further south than them. They are strongly oriented toward the Nordic countries, whereas we are midway between East and West. Imagine a North-East-West triangle: Lithuania is at the center of such a triangle, and it wants to stay there.

[Veronese] Let us come to the near future. Yours was the first of the three Baltic republics to take the path of democracy. When will it reach its goal?

[Vagnorius] The next stage will be the drafting and approval of the new constitution. Perhaps the most important decisions—especially those concerning what kind of democratic system to adopt, whether parliamentary or presidential—will be made the subject of a referendum. This will be followed by elections—not before the end of 1992, I would say.

[Veronese] What about the transition to the market economy?

[Vagnorius] This too is a factor of freedom: Private ownership has not yet been fully defined, and there is little private enterprise. My government has just issued a decree governing the sale and purchase of real estate, but there is still a very great deal to be done; most state property has to be transferred to private ownership.

[Veronese] Another first that your country seems to be seeking is the withdrawal of the Red Army. Unlike Estonia and Latvia, the Lithuanian Government has called for its immediate departure. Are you not going too far?

[Vagnorius] No. Of course we want them to withdraw as soon as possible. However, we are fully aware that when it comes to defense the Soviet national interest is at stake. We know that it will take time before the first soldier leaves, but I am sure that it will be completed within a few years. When we talk about an immediate withdrawal we are referring to the troops under the USSR Interior Ministry's command. We want to negotiate on the Red Army forces as soon as the others have gone. We know that they will be difficult negotiations.

[Veronese] Why this distinction?

[Vagnorius] Because the Interior Ministry forces were not here to defend the USSR: Their task was exclusively repressive. In other words, they have nothing to do with the USSR's security!

[Veronese] The number of these troops seems to be such a well kept secret that nobody knows it...

[Vagnorius] Somebody must surely know! Be that as it may, according to our reckoning, they total 100,000-200,000 men.

[Veronese] Do the Interior Ministry troops that you mentioned include the Omons, the notorious special forces black berets?

[Vagnorius] Yes, but the Omons are no problem. We have already reached an agreement with Moscow in their regard.

[Veronese] What is it, may I ask?

[Vagnorius] The Omon commanders have received orders from Moscow to disband their units.

[Veronese] But you know very well that the Vilnius Omons stopped obeying Moscow—or at least some of the centers of Soviet authority—months ago! They act on their own account, consider themselves an independent armed branch of Soviet communism.

[Vagnorius] That does not alter the fact that they must obey. Some of them have asked for political asylum in the West...

[Veronese] Yes, I wonder who will grant them it...

[Vagnorius] Perhaps some country wants to take the Omons...

[Veronese] Prime Minister, in Europe there is now a race to independence among the small nations. You were the first, followed by the Slovenes, Croats, and Slovaks, not to mention the nationalities of the USSR. Do you feel responsible for this?

[Vagnorius] The Baltic is a special case, a separate case. We are three sovereign states that were illegally occupied by a foreign army for 51 years. But we are also convinced that all this great stirring, Europe's new decentralization, began here, that the first step was taken here. But do not write that it has all been Lithuania's fault.

Landsbergis Reports on Situation to Council

LD0409201791

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuania at 0910 GMT on 4 September broadcasts a 35-minute recording of the opening statement by Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, on the political situation at the opening of the extraordinary session of the Lithuanian Parliament. Landsbergis says that today's task is to

look forward and to plan the actions that will reinforce the independence of Lithuania.

Speaking more specifically about future plans and the present situation, he says: "We should think how the work of restoring of the state will continue under the new conditions, which have provided us with incomparably greater political protection and reinforced positions in foreign relations." Talking about the immediate tasks facing the government and the Supreme Council of Lithuania, Vytautas Landsbergis says that it is important to get a clear understanding of the processes of the so-called recognition in the East and the West. At the same time, he says, a certain axis of balance between Moscow and Washington or between Moscow and New York—where the question of accepting Lithuania into the United Nations will be decided—must be taken into consideration.

Vytautas Landsbergis says that Lithuania must have a point of view on certain specific issues such as concerning what is being discussed in Moscow with regard to searching for certain formulas which would be beneficial to the leadership of the Soviet Union or appropriate to the current decisions, what our relation to this process is, and how to avoid getting trapped by some hampering procedures with regard to the achievements we have already made, especially concerning those which we still have to achieve in the international organizations in the West. He continues: "I have touched on this issue, which should be one of the areas of our foreign policy and certain priorities in our foreign policy which we should discuss at the factions and commissions. He says that the specific situation of sittings in Moscow the day before yesterday, yesterday, and today must be also considered, however.

"A conclusion can be drawn that although the Soviet Union today is a rather vague concept, it is probably in its transitional period, as the term is used there at the moment, and something may become clear. However, we should not be mixed up in the transitional period of the Soviet Union. Yet such tendencies on the part of Moscow do exist; we are regarded, both Lithuania and the Baltic states, as a part of the transitional period of the Soviet Union, therefore we continue to be regarded as part of the USSR, as part of the processes taking part in the Soviet Union."

Landsbergis continues: "There are various plans; new plans are emerging almost every day. Their basic tendency is obvious: In any form, to keep for a longer period of time or even to preserve that former state." "There is a wish for this tendency to embrace the whole former territory together with the conquered Baltic states. In other words, the basic tendency which can be seen has been there all the time: to preserve the unchanged map." "The old tendency is still alive and it is supported by Moscow," Landsbergis stresses.

Landsbergis goes on to state that Lithuania must avoid this transitional period in the Soviet Union "because

there will be various obstacles or possibilities to obstruct our speedy return to international organizations or our occupying places there. There may be various obstacles. We have already felt this from within the UN apparatus; we would not be surprised to find that apparatus being influenced by the former Soviet Union's structures or by people employed there. There have been reports that the UN will consider our membership only after we solve our problems with the Soviet Union. Thus there is an opportunity to gently block and delay. This can be seen".

Landsbergis says: "Whether the Soviet Union will adopt a decision soon or not is an open question. We should not get tied up either psychologically, emotionally, or politically with what is to be decided in Moscow at the Congress of People's Deputies, or by any other person. There has been a great deal of talking about this, and waiting. Furthermore, if we agreed to some requests to be recognized by that side—and such formulae have been proposed to us—we would recognize Moscow's right to solve the problem of our sovereignty and our independence, which we should expect as some kind of favor by the Soviet leadership."

He continues: "There are opinions that 15 new members in the UN would be too many. Once again we are included in these 15. We must continue to fight and defend our unique position—that we are not like these other republics which may claim to be members of the United Nations—and to oppose the Soviet Union proposing its total of 15 republics, that it proposes us as its republic".

Having explained his known view to the Soviet Union's requirement that Lithuania could secede in accordance with the constitutional process, Landsbergis turns to Lithuania's foreign policy and states:

"I would like to enlist a group of people as a kind of foreign policy council." "This would enable us to exchange information more speedily on what is being done in the sphere of foreign policy by the corresponding commission of the Supreme Council, the Foreign Ministry, or the leadership of the republic".

On the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Lithuania, Landsbergis says: "Our primary task [words indistinct] is the withdrawal of the Soviet Army from Lithuania". "The process of forming our army should start soon—this year. It should be linked with international consultations and with the general concept of European security. We must occupy our place as a state which has obligations not only in the control of its borders and the maintenance of internal order, but which also has international obligations [passage indistinct]".

Prunskiene Urges Congress To Dissolve

OW0409193991 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1645 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with BF [BALTFAX] in Moscow, Former Prime Minister of Lithuania Kazimiera Prunskiene said that, in her opinion, the USSR congress of people's deputies has become out of date as a political structure and should dissolve itself.

Speaking about the situation in Lithuania, she pointed out that her republic, as well as other post-communist countries of Eastern Europe, faces the trend toward "strong power".

"I consider myself a member of the democratic forces which should overcome that trend", Prunskiene noted. In her words, the Forum For The Future Lithuania, a coalition of parties and organizations opposing the parliamentary majority, seeks to "eradicate such deviations". In fact, Prunskiene is a member of the Forum.

Asked by a BF's correspondent whether her attitude to Vytautas Landsbergis has changed, Prunskiene said: "My attitude to him is stable and not as categorical as the TASS news agency and some other mass media used to describe it." She added that "at present, I would not like to head the Lithuanian government, but I do not rule out that possibility, if certain changes take place".

Touching upon possible cooperation between the USSR and Lithuania, Prunskiene stressed that Vilnius "does not want to break off ties". As she put it, "all moderate democratic forces of Lithuania favor the continuation of Soviet-Lithuanian cooperation."

UK's Hogg Meets With Landsbergis

LD0409215291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network
in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, received British Foreign Minister Douglas Hogg today, and those accompanying him.

In a friendly and sincere conversation they discussed the restoration and development of diplomatic relations, Lithuania's return to and joining international organizations, Great Britain's help in returning Lithuania's gold deposited in Great Britain, and other urgent issues. [passage omitted]

The guest from Great Britain was also received today by Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius. The British minister was interested in the situation in Lithuania, the orientation of its government in relations with Western countries, and with the neighbors in the east.

Speaking about the prospects of developing bilateral economic relations, the guest wanted to clarify how and in which branches of Lithuania's economy Great Britain could help, to begin active work, and stated that a group of experts would be shortly coming to Vilnius for this purpose.

Taking this into account, Gediminas Vagnorius said that it could be the organization of mutually beneficial trade

in timber processing, furniture, the chemical industry, light industry, and other branches.

During the meeting, attended by Lithuanian Deputy Prime Minister Vytautas Pakalniskis, minister Aleksandras Abisala, and other members of the Government, views were exchanged on other issues of international politics and economic cooperation.

Praises Government, People

*LD0409170891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network
in Lithuanian 0945 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[Text] We have already reported that Douglas Hogg, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Great Britain, has arrived in Lithuania. After meeting with Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, Mr. Hogg and Algirdas Saudargas, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Lithuania, gave a brief news conference. Douglas Hogg said that it is a great pleasure to visit Lithuania for the first time after 50 years in the capacity of a minister of this rank. This visit marks the important events taking place here. On behalf of the British Government, Mr. Hogg expressed his admiration of Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council, the Parliament, the Government, and the people of Lithuania. What has been achieved today was unachievable four or five months ago, and this has happened thanks to the resolve and courage of the people of Lithuania. Mr. Douglas Hogg said: We want to help Lithuania as much as we can. Great Britain wants to see its representatives in Lithuania as soon as possible, and hopes that this will happen. Britain also would like to help Lithuania join international organizations, first of all the United Nations. Together with France, Britain will sponsor Lithuania's application.

The guest also recalled that Lithuania had trade links with Great Britain, and expressed a hope that these links will be restored. When the journalists asked if the gold which was kept in the banks of Great Britain and which was handed over to the Soviet Union in 1967 would be returned, Douglas Hogg said that Great Britain would like to solve this problem in a constructive way. He believes that a mutually acceptable solution will be found.

Leader of Polish Lithuanians on Independence

*AU0509080291 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA
in Polish 30 Aug 91 p 14*

[Interview with Czeslaw Okinczyc, member of the Polish faction in the Lithuanian Parliament, by Wojciech Maziarski; place and date not given: "Poland in Green"]

[Excerpts] [Maziarski] How was Poland's readiness to establish diplomatic relations with Lithuania received in Vilnius?

[Okinczyc] Poland was entered in green on the board placed before the parliamentary information bureau.

That means that Poland is one of those states that has already recognized Lithuania's independence. The states that have just announced such a decision are entered in red.

Warsaw's decision was announced by President Landsbergis at a parliamentary session and the reaction was one of loud applause. Now everyone is waiting for concrete details.

[Maziarski] What was the response of the Poles in Lithuania?

[Okinczyc] I think that the majority understands that the totalitarian system in Europe has collapsed once and for all. In light of this situation, Poland's decision should be welcomed—in the name of a better future.

Lithuania's recognition will accelerate the signing of a bilateral declaration. It has been announced the Minister Skubiszewski will visit Vilnius in September. We expect one of the points in the document to concern the position of the Polish community in Lithuania.

I think that the issue of the Poles in Lithuania is an issue of international significance. It is my duty, as the representative of the Polish minority, to raise the question at an international forum. Today, the world backs freedom, the rights of minorities, and is fighting nationalism. So, we have an opportunity to realize our requests within the framework of an independent Lithuanian state toward which the eyes of the entire world will be turned. [passage omitted]

[Maziarski] Will the attitude of those Poles who supported the putsch have a negative impact on the position of the entire Polish community in Lithuania and on relations between the two states?

[Okinczyc] Today, all those who described themselves as defenders of Polish interests and were de facto defending their own positions and interests have fallen silent. I think that those Polish leaders who said that Lithuania must remain part of the USSR for all time should officially and clearly renounce their aspirations to being spokesmen for the "Polish cause." Neither Lithuania or the West will consider them credible.

The views of this group of communists cannot be made synonymous with the position of the whole Polish community. I have already said this in the Lithuanian Parliament and I am pleased that I can now repeat this in Poland: The fact that there was such a group cannot impact on the whole range of Polish-Lithuanian relations. After all, as a percentage, there were more Lithuanians who supported communism. How can this be considered a basis for assessing an entire nation? [passage omitted]

Landsbergis Meets French Parliamentarian

LD0409215491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network
in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Today, Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, received French National Assembly Chairman Laurent Fabius. Landsbergis thanked Fabius for France's important political support for Lithuania.

In a cordial conversation, the prospects for political, economic, and cultural cooperation for both states and the problems of support for Lithuania were discussed.

Landsbergis: Gorbachev 'Maneuvering' on Baltics

OW0409194991 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1645 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Lithuanian parliament Vytautas Landsbergis told a press conference in Vilnius Tuesday evening "It does not matter to us whether the Congress of People's Deputies will recognize the Baltics' independence or not". He noted that "sooner or later that issue will be resolved" and that "Lithuania currently faces even more serious problems". Speaking about Mikhail Gorbachev's position on the issue at the congress Mr. Landsbergis said that the president "is manoeuvring".

Gorbachev Sends Leadership Independence Decree

AU0409162091 Paris AFP in English
1538 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Vilnius, Lithuania, Sept 4 (AFP) - Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on Wednesday transmitted to the Lithuanian leadership details of a presidential decree recognising the independence of the Baltic states, Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia.

The decree, a copy of which was obtained by AFP here, recognises their independence by declaring illegal Moscow's 1940 annexation of the three Baltic states.

Soviet Military Experts Visit 4 September

OW0409160291 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1400 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A group of independent military experts representing the "Shield" public organization arrived in Lithuania Tuesday. Among members of the group are retired Captains A. Yevstigneyev and S. Melkov. The certificate signed by USSR defense minister, Aviation Marshal E. Shaposhnikov, indicates the aim of their visit: to examine the situation in the Baltic Military District in the wake of August 19-21 events and to prepare an joint account with the district's command.

Orders Issued for Arrest of Communist Leaders

OW0409214891 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1900 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lithuania's Procurator General, Mr Arturas Paylauskas, told journalists in Riga that he had given the go-ahead to the arrest of three leaders of the republic's Communist Party.

Mr Arnold Rubiks, former first chairman of Lithuania's Communist Party Central Committee and member of the Central Committee's Politbureau, and his adviser Mr V. Serdyukov have already been arrested in Latvia for support of the coup

Commission Confiscates KGB Weapons

OW0509120191 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1120 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Lithuanian State Commission for the Nationalization of the KGB assets has completed the confiscation of KGB servicemen's personal arms. As Algirdas Kumja, a Lithuanian MP [member of parliament] and a member of the commission, told BF [BALTFAX], all documents from the KGB's archives are being inventoried at the former KGB headquarters in Vilnius. However, MP Balis Gaiauskas, head of the commission, pointed out that still much remains to be done: scores of financial documents, equipment and buildings belonging to the KGB (currently, closed and sealed up) have not yet been inventoried. At the same time, by decision of the Lithuanian Government, the commission is charged with placing in new jobs former KGB servicemen. According to Deputy Chairman of the Lithuanian KGB Edmundas Baltinas, 700 officers plus 700 employees worked in the Lithuanian KGB. But the commission says the KGB employed about 2,000 people.

Foreign Minister on Control of Nuclear Forces

PM0509084691 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 5 Sep 91 p 7

[Article by A. Kozyrev, foreign minister of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic: "Russia and the World. Join Us"]

[Text] During the days of the putsch, with the help of the Washington Center for Democracy headed by Professor Weinstein, an article of mine was published in THE WASHINGTON POST under the heading "Join Us." We asked for condemnation of the dictatorship and support for the resisting White House in Moscow, and that support was provided by democratic countries in the West. What people had been talking about for such a long time actually happened. Now we have seen who Russia's true friends and comrades abroad are.

Today, as Yelena Bonner rightly says, having won the battle, we must not lose the peace. That has happened once before in history, when after World War II the peoples of Russia were robbed of victory by communist totalitarianism, while the Western allies turned into enemies. Even the new political thinking did not remove the mark of suspicion from them. There was talk of overcoming confrontation and establishing cooperation, but nothing more.

Furthermore, the new democracies in Eastern Europe also came under suspicion over the last 12-18 months, although they sprang up largely thanks to Soviet perestroika. The Brezhnev doctrine gave way to a doctrine whereby the conclusion of treaties with Eastern neighbors who had gone too far in their renunciation of the socialist choice had to be accompanied by a solemn promise on their part not to enter into any alliances hostile to the Soviet Union. It ensued from this that despite declarations to the effect that NATO and the European Community are no longer regarded as adversaries, in practice they were still in the "untouchable" category. Otherwise what were these alliances that were banned to East Europeans?

What was a hostile environment for a state that had fused with the CPSU, should become a favorable environment for a democratic state. The strategic goal is rapprochement with the West with its foreign policy, economy, and other institutions. Greece, Spain, and Portugal have trodden this path. They helped them to emerge from dictatorship and they will help us too, if we finally make up our minds firmly and clearly.

Let us not forget, also, who it was who sympathized, covertly and overtly, with the putschists. It is high time that party ideology in choosing friends gave way to the categorical imperative—wish for others what you want for yourself. And that is freedom of choice, freedom of the press, free movement inside and outside the country. The time has come to stop military aid and reduce economic aid to all regimes in conflict regions, and also to Cuba and North Korea.

And of course there can be no delay in ensuring the openness of our own military spending at a level comparable with the objective information that is submitted by the U.S. Government to Congress and the American public.

Only well-informed public opinion, debates, and decisions by the body of deputies will help us to find a well-regulated level of reasonable sufficiency of expenditure on defense, although even now it is clear that that spending could be reduced significantly.

However the future of the Union takes shape, whatever path its constituent republics take, it is vitally important for accords to be secured between them on keeping the nuclear forces under unified control. This is a commitment under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The Ukrainian and Belorussian declarations of their unwillingness to be nuclear powers move in this direction. Outside the USSR, too, the nonproliferation of nuclear, chemical, and missile armaments is our priority.

The problem in general of security and cooperation between the former Union republics must be pondered in a most serious and, let us be blunt, revolutionary way. I think that the best way is not to reinvent the bicycle—as we have been trying to do for 70 years—but to follow existing models and international commitments.

The experience accumulated by NATO—with its single command and centralized control of the nuclear arsenal—may prove to be of interest in the resolution of military issues. But it is above all important for the USSR's CSCE commitments to be extended to the Union's republics. For this it is necessary, first, to find flexible ways to directly incorporate the republics in the all-European process so that they are directly conscious of their responsibility for the inviolability of borders, for observing human rights, and for economic cooperation. Second, it would be useful for an interrepublic conference, like the Helsinki conference, to be held to discuss significant common problems—once again on the firm civilized basis of the CSCE principles. And it is advisable to begin preparing this forum as soon as possible. If it helps the conclusion of a Union treaty, well and good; if it proves to be the only form of multilateral political cooperation among the republics, all the more reason for not delaying. The value of the conference for those who will not be part of the new Union is also obvious.

The West can provide the most practical help in all this. Namely by its moral-political backing for the democratic processes and its perfection of the stages and mechanisms of cooperation both within the CSCE framework and with such stabilizing institutions as NATO, the EEC, and so on. Lastly, by immediate humanitarian food aid via the creation of a democracy support fund for this purpose. And, to go on, by its more substantial support for economic reforms—but not in isolation from them, as was previously the case, when credits vanished into the sand.

In short, when we appeal to the West we can say: "Join us in building a peaceful life, for Russians have proven their desire for democracy and civilization in the battle outside the White House."

Khasbulatov Meets Serbian Official in Belgrade

LD3108041291 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1030 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, 30 August (TASS)—Today a meeting has been held here between Ruslan Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, who is in the SFRY on an unofficial visit, and Aleksandar Bakacevic, chairman of the People's Assembly (Parliament). The parties informed each other of the current situation in their republics and discussed the prospects for comprehensive cooperation between the RSFSR and Serbia. In the course of the meeting the need to expand parliamentary links was noted, as well as stimulating the activity of a mixed Russian-Serbian commission.

The RSFSR parliamentary leader met the leadership of the Republic of Montenegro in the course of his visit to Yugoslavia. Today Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, flew off for home.

Yeltsin, Silayev Talk With Poland's Balcerowicz

PM0409154191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 91 p 3

[A. Kaverznev report: "Balcerowicz's Restrained Optimism"]

[Text] L. Balcerowicz, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and finance minister of the Republic of Poland, has spent two days in Moscow. L. Balcerowicz rated highly the fact that, despite their extraordinary work load, B. Yeltsin and I. Silayev met with him. L. Balcerowicz conveyed to the Russian president an invitation from L. Walesa to pay an official visit to Poland.

An economic agreement was signed between Russia and Poland. Speaking at a news conference, L. Balcerowicz voiced the hope that it will open up the way to the restoration of economic cooperation between the two countries.

There was also an exchange of opinions with the Soviet partners on general economic questions concerning the transformation of the national economy and the transition to the market. L. Balcerowicz said that his Soviet interlocutors were most interested in the privatization processes.

Our countries are going through a transitional period. But this does not mean that international ties must be restored only after all internal problems have been resolved. The talks between the Polish and Russian leaders showed that both sides intend to act decisively right now.

Walesa Extends Invitation

LD0309184291 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1650 GMT 3 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Veretin]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Sep—An invitation to visit Poland was handed over today to Russian President Boris Yeltsin on behalf of Lech Walesa, president of the Polish Republic. This was reported at a news conference that took place in Moscow by Leszek Balcerowicz, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of finances of Poland. He came here on a visit on 2 September.

During today's talks with Boris Yeltsin and Ivan Silayev, chairman of Russia's Council of Ministers, the Polish guest discussed questions of trade, economic, and financial relations between Poland and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. The sides signed an economic agreement that, as is expected, will open up the way to the expansion of bilateral cooperation.

Leszek Balcerowicz noted that accord was reached on deliveries of foodstuffs and raw materials from Poland. The Polish Government expressed a readiness to restore the work of industrial enterprises on its territory, whose products were previously traditionally sent to the Soviet market.

Yeltsin Issues Warning About New 'Coup'

PM0409123991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 29 Aug 91 p 1

[Edmund Iodkovskiy report under the "News" rubric: "Boris Yeltsin: 'New Coup Being Prepared at Congress'"]

[Text] The huge conference hall of the White House was filled with people from all continents. The chief event of this, one of the concluding days of the Compatriots Congress was President B.N. Yeltsin's speech and his replies to numerous questions from emigres. "What is your attitude to the extraordinary USSR Supreme Soviet session?"—this was probably the central question of concern to the gathering. Boris Nikolayevich replied thus: "I believe that the USSR Supreme Soviet was an accessory to the putsch. I refused Laptev's request to address the deputies of this Supreme Soviet, which was manipulated so skillfully by Lukyanov. I also refused because Khasbulatov had already expressed our viewpoint. At the extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies, which will open 2 September, I will say that the present composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet must be dissolved. The Congress itself also merits dissolution, for this organ is not needed.

"There are already alarm signals that counterrevolutionary forces will try to take revenge and that, so they say, 'at the Congress we will seize Gorbachev's entire team.' It seems that we must prepare for a big skirmish."

Yeltsin confirmed that the Russian leadership advocates a very seriously renewed Union, which would not, as before, be a tool for crushing the republics.

States Need To Be 'Watchful'

LD0309203391 Moscow TASS in English 2024 GMT
3 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—"We need to be watchful since that obvious coup failed. We cannot rule out attempts to stage a new coup by constitutional means at the Congress of People's Deputies, although the right-wing forces are lying low now and fear to show themselves," Russian President Boris Yeltsin told journalists on Tuesday.

He believes the time will come to hold nation-wide elections of the Supreme Soviet and the country's president.

He said Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev is ready for these elections and will take a risk. "I think the putsch has improved his chances, though not enough to participate in elections," Yeltsin said.

He did not say whether he supports Gorbachev's candidature.

Oblast Leaders Dismissed for Coup 'Waiting Game'

PM0409145391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
31 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Anatoliy Yershov report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Oblast Leadership Resigned"]

[Text] Nizhniy Novgorod—A session of the Nizhniy Novgorod Oblast Soviet has accepted the voluntary resignation of Oblast Soviet Chairman A. Sokolov and the entire presidium membership.

Although during those notorious days the state of emergency was not introduced in the oblast, oblast leaders failed to display sufficient political maturity and resolve. They played a kind of waiting-game based on the principle of "backing the winner," which in fact meant doing nothing. The presidium failed to take steps to convene an extraordinary oblast soviet session. Instead of relying on the deputies' initiative, here during those crisis days authority was handed over to a so-called "limited conference" under A. Sokolov. There were instances when local newspapers were published with huge delays, part of the print run was actually kept back in the printing house, and efforts to introduce censorship appeared in various guises.

Earlier, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president had relieved Yu. Makarov of his post as acting chairman of the oblast soviet executive committee. Given that the oblast soviet does not possess evidence of his anticonstitutional activity, it was decided to appeal to Russian President B. Yeltsin with the request for this question to be re-examined.

Ye. Krestyaninov, a 43-year-old engineer who worked in recent times as deputy chairman of the Priokskiy Rayon Soviet, was elected chairman of the Nizhniy Novgorod Oblast Soviet.

City Hall Finding Jobs for Ex-CPSU Officials

PM0509083991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 29 Aug 91 p 1

[Yevgeniy Skukin report under the "News" rubric: "Jobs Will Be Found for Party Functionaries"]

[Text] At Moscow City Soviet, following the example of apparatchiks expelled before the circumstances of the putsch have been ascertained, workers of the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs are interceding "for ordinary people" who have now been left without their daily bread. And they are also speaking of their past kindness toward democrats. They provided them with vehicles, printing capacities, and much else besides. I will not venture to judge the "much else besides," but it is the pure truth that ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, which had been "done a great favor" by the party printing plant, was always an outcast there.

The action being taken by City Hall is all the more topical because, as Moscow Vice Mayor Yu. Luzhkov reported, a halt has just been called to the transfer of money abroad, undertaken by the same "former" people of the former CPSU Central Committee. Nevertheless, the vice mayor declared, it is in the rules of those Communists but not of democrats to exact vengeance merely for party membership. In addition to everything else, City Hall will set about finding jobs for former party functionaries. And, by the way, the administration workers were so concerned about drivers, print workers, and sanatorium workers for nothing. They will all keep their jobs. The only qualitative change will be in the social thrust of all these services and enterprises. They are now aimed at meeting the needs and requirements of inhabitants of the capital and the oblast who wish both to rest under good conditions and to read truthful periodicals.

Yeltsin Signs Order on Handing Over of Buildings

LD0409214991 Moscow Central Television First
Program Network in Russian 2027 GMT 4 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin has signed an order on urgent measures to improve the working of courts in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. The first step is to hand over to the law all buildings that previously belonged to the CPSU.

Courts To Obtain Property

LD0409143591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 0600 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], has instructed the Council of Ministers of the republics belonging to Russia and the executive bodies in the localities, when they are deciding questions on the property of the CPSU and the RSFSR Communist Party, to hand some of the buildings occupied by them over to the courts. At the present time, the majority of courts are in premises not suited for their activity. The RSFSR Council of Ministers has been given the task of solving the question of allocating extra funds in 1991 to the RSFSR Ministry of Justice to reequip the buildings they are given and their contents.

Leningrad Taking Over CPSU Property

PM0409141991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
31 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Vladimir Nevelskiy report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "City Hall Will Take Smolny"]

[Text] Leningrad—The city authorities have adopted a decision to transfer to the building which for many decades was occupied by the CPSU Oblast Committee.

Vice Mayor V. Shcherbakov signed an order Thursday: On the basis of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Presidential Decree and the Russian Council of Ministers Resolution, all buildings and structures belonging to the Leningrad Communist Party Oblast Committee Administration of Affairs will be transferred to the city along with the equipment, staff, and wages fund. It is suggested that the formal hand-over of CPSU property on Leningrad territory will be completed over the next two weeks.

The city is to become the owner of luxury hotels, residences, a large and modern motor transport pool, and other objects from the far-reaching party economic base. Workers in these facilities need not worry about their future: Most of them will remain at their former places of work. At the same time they have been severely warned that anybody guilty of damaging CPSU property will be brought to justice.

Khasbulatov Interviewed on Future of Republic

LD0509011891

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 1600 GMT on 4 September carries a 30-minute "Topical Interview" program in which Ruslan I. Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Supreme Soviet talks to reporter Sergey Suntsov.

Suntsov begins the interview by reminding Khasbulatov that for a long time he has been accused of destroying the

Union, but now he seems to favor its preservation. Khasbulatov responds that his position has not changed; he has always favored greater independence for Russia and other republics while keeping an efficient Union center to handle such issues as defense, foreign policy, railway transport, atomic power engineering, and the fight against crime.

Touching on independence for the autonomies within the RSFSR, Khasbulatov says: "We are indeed in favor of broadening the independence of the republics forming the Russian Federation. This is beyond doubt. We have recognized their declarations of sovereignty. This, too, is beyond doubt. But their sovereignty should cover specific issues in line with the RSFSR Constitution now in force. Another point is that whatever the level of sovereignty—be it an oblast, a kray, or a republic—it is part of a single state. Consequently, as a part, it should be subordinate to the whole. It is out of the question for there to be some absolutely independent states. If you hold a referendum in any republic today, the people would not vote in favor of becoming an absolutely independent state. Not a single republic within Russia has held a referendum; not a single one.

"On the whole, I must say that since the coup the situation is becoming healthier. In Tuva the people demanded that the chairman of the Supreme Soviet be removed, and he has been. In Chuvashia and in Kabarda-Balkar, reactionary leaders are being ousted by mass actions. They are accused of disloyalty to the Russian leadership during the days of the putsch. Just imagine! This is a very good and progressive sign."

Suntsov then presses Khasbulatov to clarify relations between former autonomies and Russia under the new situation. Khasbulatov says that since the resistance of central structures has been overcome and a strong center no longer exists, it is more advantageous for republics to preserve stable links and to remain within Russia. Now that Russia has taken control of economic units on its territory, the Russian Government has greater possibilities of assisting the development of republics within the spirit of self-determination. But "the principle of self-determination of peoples does not mean that one should create a state, armed forces, air forces, a navy, and borders of one's own, or that one should build tanks, and so on. Not at all! This means personal freedom. The principle of self-determination of people is based on personal freedom and on the individual. The entire process of sovereignty proceeds from there."

Suntsov interjects that it also includes freedom of choice. Khasbulatov affirms this. Suntsov asks if Khasbulatov means that, objectively, the republics are interested in remaining within Russia. If they choose a different path, he asks, would you recognize their right to self-determination and their right to choose or to look for allies? Would you recognize their right to leave Russia?

Khasbulatov says: "The people are sovereign. This must be recognized both theoretically and practically. Those

leaders and ideologists who demand independence should be clearly aware of a whole number of conditions on this path. First, a referendum among the people should be held in the region, republic, oblast, or kray. Second, it is a question of whether territorial borders should be altered. Talks may be needed. Perhaps a referendum should be held in Russia to find out whether the Russian people agree to a new state being formed on their territory. In all cases, one should appeal to people's minds instead of simply deciding in the offices of bureaucrats for the people." Khasbulatov adds that he has proposed that such decisions be based on the people's will.

Suntsov then turns to economic problems facing the country. Khasbulatov says that expenses for the upkeep of state structures and the military-industrial complex should be reduced. He recalls his proposals at the Supreme Soviet to this effect. "Why do we need aircraft carriers, for example? It is obvious today that neither Western Europe nor America, China, or Japan threatens us. Therefore, naturally, we should reduce very seriously that mastodon [the military-industrial complex], which takes away a half of the national income." He adds: "Until we turn this large national economic bloc, including the defense-military complex, into a commodity, until we turn it into elements of the market economy, we will not have a healthy ruble, and we will not make it possible for the ruble to stabilize."

Khasbulatov stresses the need to urgently implement economic reforms and he appeals to agricultural managers, asking them not to obstruct the formation of peasant farms, because "if we manage to set up 100,000 peasant farms on RSFSR territory alone by the start of the next agricultural year, it seems to me that in a year or two many problems in this area will disappear. I am not calling for destroying efficiently operating collective and state farms," he says, "but according to our estimations, at least 40 percent of the collective and state farms could be disbanded and transformed into peasant farms."

Elaborating on the economic issue, Khasbulatov says: "Of course, we should create better conditions for normal and profitable operation of Western capital. You know that we have adopted a whole set of laws, but many of them have been made inactive by the central administration's opposition. Now our session is opening on the 19th. We intend to discuss and adopt several other draft laws with the purpose of attracting foreign, mostly investment, capital to the most diverse spheres, such as industry, agriculture, banking, services, and so on."

Referring to the Congress of People's Deputies that is currently under way, Suntsov asks Khasbulatov's view on the mutual relations and systems proposed by republics. Khasbulatov says that this is a compromise, our last attempt to save the Union as a whole.

Suntsov raises the issue of Yeltsin's recent statement on a possible revision of the borders by Russia. Khasbulatov argues that this statement was misunderstood by

both the right and the left. The issue of borders has been raised by people themselves who have been uncertain about their future, especially after the coup when republics started taking resolute steps toward independence. "If we preserve the Union, not only as an economic space but also as a single political and legal space, then it will be easier for us to explain to citizens of the Ukraine, the Russian people who reside there, and other people who earlier lived in Russia, that there are no grounds for worries. The same regards those residing in Kazakhstan."

Asked about the purpose of creating the local posts of representatives of the president, Khasbulatov says that this is an attempt to strengthen representative and executive power. In such areas as Krasnodar Kray or Stavropol Kray, he says, administration used to disregard RSFSR laws and this had to be stopped. At the same time, he says, deputies at all levels should monitor all bodies of executive power and procurator and judges should be independent. If this is achieved, the mechanism of power will operate efficiently. The representatives will form a link between the president and local authorities and the people. "This is a useful institution. Something similar exists in France and other countries. In the conditions of our reality this will be helpful. Of course, this will only promote the strengthening of order and discipline. This will take local authorities in hand a bit."

Asked about the cost of this reform, Khasbulatov says that it will cost about 150 to 200 million rubles. When Suntsov expresses doubts about the cost effectiveness of this reform, Khasbulatov argues that "one should not save either on strengthening power and raising its efficiency or on education and culture. Democracy is a very expensive tool, a very expensive instrument of state policy, of the state and society in general. Therefore, we have to protect democracy. The fact is that we have received these freedoms—not simply received from somebody, but the people have them and have procured them for itself. They are not complete yet. I am far from believing that we have a democratic society. After all, our thinking is still authoritarian. This is true even for our best representatives of democratic forces."

Asked about the post-coup mood at the Russian Supreme Soviet and the estimated pace of the reforms mentioned earlier in the interview, Khasbulatov says he has confidence in the Supreme Soviet, because many deputies have reviewed their positions and realize that the party-based state has collapsed. Regarding the attitude toward former political opponents, primarily the Russian Communist Party, Khasbulatov says that it was not a political party but a group of conspirators, a state structure that operated as an instrument of the state.

Describing the issues submitted to the forthcoming session and congress, Khasbulatov singles out "a block of issues related to the new Union treaty. This is beyond doubt." He regards a block of economic issues as the top priority for the forthcoming session, however, because

improving the economy is of paramount importance. He says: "Some people ask: Will the coup be repeated? Yes, it will if the economic situation of people deteriorates, since it is a nutritive medium for conspirators. This is beyond doubt."

As regards his plans, Khasbulatov says he has not yet decided to promote his candidacy for the post of chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet because the burden is too heavy. Suntsov inquires about Khasbulatov's attitude to the fact that currently many Russian leaders often attend church services. Khasbulatov is resolutely against such ostentatious behavior: "We support we will promote all religious confessions, and we will help them; but secular authorities should not mix with orthodoxy or Catholicism. This is not something that is done in modern states."

Answering Suntsov's last question about whether or not Western experience will take root in the country, Khasbulatov says that we have to rely on mankind's experience. "The highest standards of human life are outside our country. One should not be afraid to admit this; neither should one take some chauvinistic views claiming that we are better than everybody else. We are not; however, we are not worse than everybody else, either. So let us provide a worthy living for our fellow citizens. That is the question, that is why we need the experience of mankind and of the world."

Prosecutor Explains Opposition to Ban on Writers

PM0509085991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
3 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

[V. Georgiyevskiy report on interview with Moscow Prosecutor G. Ponomarev: "Moscow Prosecutor Disagrees With Prefect's Decision"; place and date not given]

[Text] Moscow Prosecutor Gennadiy Ponomarev does not currently enjoy close relations with any authorities.

During the omnipotence of the capital's partyocracy he opposed restrictions on the activity of cooperatives in Moscow. Then he caused discontent among the apparatus of the ispolkom [soviet executive committee] and party gorkom [city committee] by protesting a decision of the city electoral commission restricting the right of public organizations to nominate candidates for people's deputy. Recently G. Ponomarev has stood up for soviets and their ispolkoms, whose rights had been infringed by the actions of the mayor of Moscow.

The Moscow Prosecutor's Office has just protested the decision of A. Muzykantskiy, prefect of the capital's Central District. The prefect considered that the Russian writers' leaders supported the putschists. He therefore suspended the activity of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Writers' Union and sealed its premises. The Moscow prosecutor opposed this.

What prompted the prosecutor's office to take such an unpopular step today? Prosecutor Ponomarev replies:

[Ponomarev] The law was broken, and I had to intervene. A. Muzykantskiy's order states that the leaders of the RSFSR Writers' Union "ideologically supported the putsch and supported the activity of the State Committee for the State of Emergency." That may be so. I do not know what actually happened, although I allow the possibility of this version. But such a denunciatory conclusion requires not the opinion of a prefect, but that of a competent agency—an investigative agency, for example. If investigators establish that the Russian Writers' Union pursued in its activity the goal of overthrowing or changing by force the constitutional system, then it is a clear case for the court. And under the law only a court can stop the activity of a public organization.

[Georgiyevskiy] But the prefect has not stopped the activity of the RSFSR Writers' Union, he has merely suspended it.

[Ponomarev] Such a measure is not envisaged by existing legislation.

[Georgiyevskiy] What is your opinion about the sealing of premises, which is so popular today?

[Ponomarev] This should be carried out only by the decision of duly empowered organs and officials. Investigative ones, for example. You can only restrict the rights of a proprietor or the lawful owner of property in cases specially stipulated by the law.

[Georgiyevskiy] Such as?

[Ponomarev] The commission of a crime or a decision by a court.

[Georgiyevskiy] But that takes time, and time is short.

[Ponomarev] Come on, don't argue the case for "revolutionary legality" and expediency, let alone political necessity. We do not talk about a rule-of-law state merely in order to use the former methods of party administrative diktat.

[Georgiyevskiy] Are you not running a risk in complicating your relations with the authorities?

[Ponomarev] Maybe. In former times you were relieved of your post for this. But today? We shall see. I do not at least intend to be subservient to the authorities. I serve the law.

Rallies Continue in Southern 'Hotspots'

PM0409133591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Sep 91 Single Edition p 4

[Correspondent A. Grachev report under "Hotspots" rubric: "Rallies Held"]

[Text] Grozny—Nalchik—Vladikavkaz—This is the 13th day of a many-thousands-strong rally in Chechen-Ingushetia.

What almost amounts to barricades have begun to be built in Grozny, motorized traffic is paralyzed, and strikes are continuing. To add to all this, a congress of the Chechen people has been called. The storm clouds over Grozny are not clearing.

The wave of rallies has brought thousands of people to the square in front of the Kabardino-Balkaria government building in Nalchik. First the Lenin monument was toppled and then came the ultimatum demanding: "The resignation of the Supreme Soviet chairman, his three deputies, and the chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers and the dissolution of the entire parliamentary deputy corps." Deputies gathered in an emergency session rejected the ultimatum and handed no one their resignation. Then roughly 60 people went on hunger strike in the tents in front of the government building. The ultimatum was finally accepted. Elections of the new parliament, its leaders and the chairman of the Council of Ministers will be held in December.

Everything that has happened and is still happening now in Chechen Ingushetia and Kabardino-Balkaria is due to one thing: Democratic forces think that the governments of these republics were in agreement with the putschists and they cannot forgive them.

Events have taken a different turn in North Ossetia. A rally has also been held here, in Vladikavkaz—admittedly, a small, short-lived rally—and an extraordinary Supreme Soviet session has taken place at which the following appeals were heard: "Down with! "Resign!" and "Call them to account!" But the people's deputies did not succumb to those thirsting for reprisals.

All public organizations and democratic movements in North Ossetia have also acted in a prudent, humane fashion. The day before the session they published an appeal in the local press which said, in particular: "Let there be no terror, persecution, reprisals, and vengeance in the republic on political and ethnic grounds, for dissenting opinions, or for reasons of personal enmity—including in respect of those people who may have been deceived."

State of Emergency in Grozny Denied

LD0409181891 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1751 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Grozny, 4 Sep (TASS)—Despite the rumors, there is not a state of emergency in Grozny at the moment, although the situation in the town remains extremely tense. The parliament and government buildings are blockaded, along with a number of other buildings. Traffic on the major roads is paralyzed. Armed people are going around openly. In some schools, classes have been interrupted. The executive committee of the

Chechen Congress, around which the democratic forces have united, has declared the republic's Supreme Soviet to be disbanded.

Group Returns From Armenian-Azerbaijan Talks

LD0409180691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 0700 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Excerpts] A delegation of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] parliamentarians has returned after their trip to the areas of the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict where an agreement on temporary cease-fire was concluded. RSFSR People's Deputy Viktor Sheynev speaks to our correspondent Elena Kuznetsova about the details of this trip:

[Sheynev] We visited Shaumaynskiy Rayon, which was abolished by the decision of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet and joined with Geranboyiskiy Rayon, but the reality is such that the former Shaumaynskiy Rayon exists as a special subdivision. The Armenian community supports in fact the chairman of this rayon—he is their recognized leader—and in reality there is a confrontation between the two communities—Armenian and Azerbaijani. [passage omitted]

I think that the main result of our trip is that we managed to sign, right on the highway in the neutral zone, an agreement between the leader of the Geranboyiskiy Rayon of Azerbaijan and Shagen Migryan, the leader of the former Shaumaynskiy Rayon. The agreement has four important points: to bring about a cease-fire, to establish telephone communication [word indistinct], to carry out agricultural work in safe conditions—people are afraid to work in the fields because of gunfire—and to abandon hostage-taking. Unfortunately, the agreement is not being implemented to the full. [passage omitted]

Tatar Parliament Confirms Support to Union

PM0409110991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
31 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Alyans Sabirov report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Tatarstan: Unaltered Support for the Union"]

[Text] Kazan—B. Yeltsin has congratulated the Tatarstan people on the anniversary of the declaration of state sovereignty.

A regular session of the Tatar SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, which has convened in Kazan, declared 30 August a national holiday and a nonworking day. The Russian president's congratulations were conveyed at the session by S. Shakhraya, Yeltsin's special envoy and state adviser on legal questions. Moscow and Kazan intend to exchange official representations very soon. The most important thing today is to seek accord.

The local parliament, which condemned the reactionary coup in Moscow, confirmed that the state of emergency

was not introduced in the republic. But its leadership, including the Tatar SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, failed to show sufficient resolve and energy. Opinion was divided: Some deputies wholly justified the steps taken by President M. Shaymiyev, while others demanded a thorough investigation and even the president's resignation. The "Narodovlastiye" ["Sovereignty of the People"] deputies' group left the session hall as a sign of protest. But the majority in the parliament opposed any kind of investigation.

The Tatar SSR Supreme Soviet confirmed its unaltered commitment to preserving the Union and its intention to sign the Union treaty independently.... The session abolished the Tatar Cabinet of Ministers Resolution on Nationalizing CPSU Property. Thus the liquor plant, in which—as IZVESTIYA reported in issue No. 205—it was discovered 1.2 million rubles had been invested, is to be returned to the Republic Party Committee, or rather a small enterprise affiliated to it.

New Volga-Urals Military Chief Appointed

LD0409124591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1200 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Lieutenant General Anatoliy Sergeyev has been appointed to the post of commander of the Volga-Urals Military District. Correspondents were told at the district headquarters that the former commander, Colonel-General Albert Makashov is, for the time being, at the disposal of the Ministry of Defense.

Removal of '600 Seconds' Program Causes Protests

LD0409213991 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 1700 GMT 4 Sep

[From the "Vesti" newscast, presented by Yuriy Rostov, and including video report by A. Razin from Leningrad]

[Excerpts] [Rostov] The scandal around Aleksandr Nevzorov's program 600 Seconds is continuing. This program reflected Nevzorov's extreme right-wing views and aroused many protests, but he also had staunch supporters. After the democrats' victory, the program was

closed down using a formula similar, I recall, to that which at one time was used to close down the Vzgl'yad program.

[Razin] The 600 Seconds program has been off the air for a week now, and this has aroused a mixed reaction from the viewers. Some dislike Nevzorov's program and some support it. A movement in support of the (?NTK) 600 program has even been set up. But as has been stated by Boris Petrov, general director of LenTeleRadio, the closure of 600 Seconds was due not to political but economic reasons. Nevzorov will be on the air after the conclusion of a contract between (?NTK) and LenTeleRadio, which at the present time is undergoing a process of reorganization. [passage omitted]

In an interview with the SMENA youth newspaper, Boris Petrov stated that when society was calmer there would be no place for Nevzorov as he would be replaced by a different type of journalists, and Nevzorov's programs would cease to exist when society was not interested in his broadcasts.

[Rostov] When TSN was closed down, Sasha Nevzorov was very pleased. In my view he is a bit provincial. However, it has always seemed to me, personally, that what was wrong was not that there was a news bulletin expressing right-wing views, but that it used to be the only independent bulletin. At present the most varied independent news structures are appearing, and the most varied political orientation the better.

New Pro-Stalin Newspaper Appears in Makhachkala

LD0409213391 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 1700 GMT 4 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] In Makhachkala the first edition of the newspaper ZA RODINU, ZA STALINA [FOR THE HOMELAND, FOR STALIN] has been issued. The founders of this publication is Dagestan's Popular Democratic movement Stalin. The newspaper carries greetings from Nina Andreyeva and also prints the rules of this society. The rules say in part: The organization consistently comes out for the purity of Marxist-Leninist teachings. It considers that Lenin was the founder of the Communist Party and the world's first socialist state and that Stalin was his colleague and an outstanding figure in the CPSU and the world communist and workers' movement.

Belorussia

Foreign Minister on Referendum on Independence

LD0409165191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 4 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Belorussian Foreign Minister Kravchenko held a news conference in Minsk. [video shows news conference under way]

[Unidentified correspondent] It may be said that the Belorussian minister of foreign affairs gave this news conference in a new capacity—as the minister of foreign affairs of an already independent state.

[Begin Kravchenko recording] The acquisition by Belorussia of true freedom is impossible without resolving two preliminary conditions. These are the holding of a nationwide referendum and the determination of the attitude of the people toward the Union Treaty of 1922.

Few people abroad know that, from 1920 through 1922, our country, Belorussia, was a sovereign state. At that time, we were recognized by nine states in the world, including Germany, and it seems to me that, sooner or later, the phase of recognition that has swept across the Baltics will reach Belorussia.

Regarding our position in the United Nations. This will be a fundamentally new position which, along with the manifestation of independent principles, will be linked with a new determination of the contribution by Belorussia to the UN budget. After the Chernobyl catastrophe, we have been paying an impermissibly large amount. The contribution of Belorussia is 0.33 percent of the U.N. budget. We propose that this unjust scale of contribution should be reviewed, and we shall be seeking resolutely to achieve this over the next few years. [end recording]

Moldova

Independence Discussed With Romanian Officials

LD3008152391 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0650 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Interviews with Nataya Pascal, head of the information office of the Moldovan People's Front, in Kishinev and with Mircha Dinescu, Romanian opposition writer and politician, in Bucharest by correspondent Hajnal Mate; dates not given—recorded; Pascal speaks in Moldovan and Dinescu in Romanian with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Excerpts] After the Baltics, Moldova: But how large will or should the independent Republic of Moldova be? The map looks different when viewed from Kishinev than when viewed from Bucharest. [passage omitted] Now

you will hear two interviews, one done in Kishinev and the other in Bucharest. Hajnal Mate first asked questions of Nataya Pascal, head of the information office of the Moldovan People's Front.

[Mate] In your view, what chances does Moldova have for true independence, considering the fact that Yeltsin is concerned because of the Russian minority, and Gorbachev is concerned because of the disintegration of the Soviet Union?

[Pascal] We know the situation is not yet ripe for Moldova's independence to be fully recognized. In this the Baltic republics have greatly overtaken us, in part because the central oppression there was stronger, and in part because the issue of the Baltics is better known to the world than that of Bessarabia.

What we can do at present is to acquaint international public opinion with our independence declaration so it will take note that Moldova, in which there has been a Romanian population from ancient times, exists as an independent republic separate from the large Soviet empire.

[Mate] Is there any plan for Moldova perhaps to be united with Romania?

[Pascal] There is none. However, what we point out in the declaration of association of national independence [nemzeti függetlenségi szövevetseg] emphasizes Moldova's future relationship with Romania.

Point one states that our anthem will be the Romanian anthem. Moreover, in the fourth point we ask that the Romanian-Moldovan border come under our authority and that it be necessary only to show personal identification documents to travel across. Finally, we should arrange our international relations through Romania's foreign representation.

[Mate] What rights do you wish to guarantee for the Russian, Gagauz, and other nationalities who live there?

[Pascal] We guarantee complete cultural freedom for all nationalities who live here, and we will ensure this in a fashion similar to that of the Baltic republics, by creating a house of nationalities and by founding schools, universities, and other cultural institutions. Thus the two largest nationalities, the Gagauz and the trans-Dniester Russians, will be able to enjoy full equality of rights with the Romanians who live here within Moldova.

However, we do not consider it acceptable that they ask for the creation of autonomous territories, because in our view there is no historical basis for this whatsoever.

[Mate] What was Moldova's position during the time of the Moscow coup?

[Pascal] The leadership of the People's Front, already at 1100 in the morning on the 19th, called on the inhabitants to come to defend the parliament building, television, and important institutions. In contrast to this the

Gaugaz leaders, for example, sent a telegram of greetings to the conservative government that had gained power.

Regarding Gorbachev, we are pleased that he has returned to the top of the central leadership, although I have to say that we were afraid not so much for him as for the end of democracy. At the moment what is most important is how Russia, the Ukraine, and the other republics react to the declaration of our independence.

[Announcer] Hajnal Mate's discussion partner from Bucharest is the well-known independent opposition politician and writer, Mircea Dinescu.

[Mate, in Romanian with Hungarian translation super-imposed] Mr. Dinescu, what is your opinion of the official Romanian view on the independence of Moldavia?

[Dinescu] The official policy got into a rather ridiculous position in Romania, because in practice they had to deny the recently signed, so-called, Gorbachev-Illiescu pact, and had to welcome the independence of Moldova as a great historical moment.

The position of the government during the Moscow coup was also rather ambiguous. At the beginning they expressed very cautious views, than at the end they presented the situation as if, in agreement with all the parties, they had been condemning the coup from the first moment. Well, this was not true.

Concerning the demonstration last night, this also was a very mixed affair. At the pro-Bessarabia demonstration initiated by the Civic Alliance the people in the beginning celebrated the declaration of the independence of Moldova, but it ended with chantings of "Down with Iliescu," "Down with the government."

[Mate] In Moldova there was not a call for unification with Romania, while in Romania there is clear support for this. What is the reason for this, in your view?

[Dinescu] The Romanian Government does not dare to emphasize this demand at the moment, but the population finds it easy to take up such demands, at any time. But this question will not be decided by us, but by the population of Moldova. That they are sceptical about the unification of Romania and Moldavia, in my view, can partly be explained by the fact that the republic is economically still dependent on the great Soviet empire. While this dependency remains they will not be asking for this unification. All we can do is support this aim of theirs morally, and if possible even financially.

[Mate] On the part of Moldova there was a request for free crossings, without passports, on the joint Romanian-Moldovan border. In your view, could the same thing not be imagined on the Romanian-Hungarian border as well, considering the Hungarian minorities living there?

[Dinescu] The Romanian intellectuals, myself included, always thought that the iron curtain was invented by Stalinism, but now we are finding that the Western

countries are creating new iron curtains to stop the so-called flood of refugees. On the other hand, the Romanian minister for the interior announced yesterday that in view of the fact that there had recently been an attempt on the life of the Indian ambassador, they will be tightening the rules concerning travel into and out of Romania. So once again they found an excuse to curtail opportunities for the population to move around.

Concerning the rights of the Hungarian minorities, in my view opportunities to maintain links with the Hungarian population in Hungary should be guaranteed the same way those of Romanians living in Moldova are guaranteed, for links with Romania. In both cases we can say that after all they belong to the same nation.

[Mate] What surprised me was that there were no demonstrations in Romania about the tanks being ordered in in Moscow, as it is not irrelevant for Romania, either, what kind of government gains power in the Soviet Union. On the other hand, they immediately went to demonstrate for the unification of Moldova with Romania.

[Dinescu] Concepts like democracy long ceased to be of interest to the population, partly because this concept had long been discredited here, and partly because this is much too abstract a concept, the people having concrete, daily problems. We did try to initiate a demonstration against the tanks being moved into Moscow, but without much success.

[Mate] Is it not possible that people are again expecting television to provide direction in both cases?

[Dinescu] It is true that this government partly owes its power to the fact that they managed to take under their control the instruments of mass communications, first of all television, and not as many people read newspapers now as during the period after the revolution.

[Mate] Is there in your view a strong opposition in Romania?

[Dinescu] In my view, yes. The trouble is that this opposition can have no impact on the population; its performance so far resembles a political theater rather than action based on recognition of realities. As I already said earlier, the theoretical issues do not interest the population. [passage omitted] I feel these people are so apathetic. I fear they will not even turn out for the coming elections.

Snegur Issues Decrees on Customs, Armed Forces

*LD0409163891 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1505 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[Text] Kishinev, 4 Sep (TASS)— According to a report from the MOLDOVA-PRES agency, Moldovan President Mircha Snegur has issued a decree today "on the subordination to the government of Moldova of the customs institutions located on the Republic's territory."

The president instructed the government to start talks with the USSR Customs Committee on the issues of drawing up an inventory of the property of customs posts, and on the establishment of the procedure and schedules for handing them over to the department of state of Moldova for customs control. It is specified in the decree that until the republic adopts customs legislation the relevant institutions will be guided in their activity by the customs legislation of the USSR so far as it is not in contradiction with the interests of Moldova.

On this same day Mircha Snegur issued a decree "on the setting up of Armed Forces of the Republic of Moldova." The president instructed the government to work out a conception and specific measures to finance and set up the material and technical base of the Republic's Armed Forces within a month and also to bring them up to strength with cadres from servicemen of the emergency service and from officers. The decree notes the need to start talks with the USSR leadership on resolving the issues of the withdrawal of subunits of the Soviet army from Moldovan territory and their replacement by formations of the Republic's Armed Forces.

Today the president of Moldova also issued a decree on the military commissariats of the USSR Ministry of Defense located on the territory of the Republic. According to this document, all the commissariats are to be subordinated to the government of Moldova. It is noted in the decree that all the property of the military commissariats, including the system of military registration and control of the Republic's territory is the property of Moldova. In becoming subordinated to the government, the military commissariats retain their functions of registration, call up, enrollment into the unit and the mobilization of citizens liable for call up, acting exclusively in accordance with the legislation of Moldova.

Decree on State Border

OW0409153491 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1345 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Mircha Snegur of Moldova has issued a decree "On the State Border of the Republic of Moldova," under which the section of the Soviet Union's western border running through Moldovan territory, as well as all border installations, equipment, weapons and other property transfer to Moldova's full and exclusive jurisdiction.

In compliance with the declaration of Moldovan independence, the republic's border will be guarded by the Moldovan KGB.

The Soviet Union's interests at the said section of the Moldovan border will be safeguarded under a bilateral agreement between the USSR and the Republic of Moldova.

Another presidential decree puts the Moldovan government in charge of all custom service facilities on the republic's territory. It says that until Moldova adopts its own custom regulations, its custom service will be guided by the USSR custom regulations inasmuch as they are consistent with the republic's interests.

Decree on Army Formation

AU0409185091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1828 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/9/1991—Moldova's President Mircha Snegur issued a decree for the set-up of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Moldova, writes MOLDOVA PRESS. The document shows that the decision was made "in compliance with the declaration of independence of the Republic of Moldova, with the aim of ensuring the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The president asked the government to draft, in a month, the outlook and the practical aspects regarding the financing endowment and manning of the republic's Armed Forces.

President Snegur made special reference to the necessity of starting negotiations with the Soviet leadership for the withdrawal of Union troops from Moldova's territory and their replacement with Moldovan Army units.

Snegur Oriented Toward 'Dialogue Only'

OW0409192291 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1645 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Moldovan president's press spokesman has told journalists that Mircha Snegur is politically oriented toward "dialogue, and dialogue only, within the framework of an independent and indivisible republic."

He expressed regret that some democratically-minded parliamentarians were "misinformed by pro-putschist Moldovan deputies", and that some "pro-separatist statements based on lies may aggravate the situation in the republic." The spokesman added that "in a sense, statements of this kind may be regarded as outside interference in another country's affairs."

According to President Snegur's press spokesman, the leadership of Moldova has not made a single statement about reunification with Romania. "Moldova will proceed along the road of democratization in full compliance with its declaration of independence, paying special attention to the protection of the rights of all people, regardless of their nationality or religion," the spokesman said.

Ways To Resolve Dniestr Conflict Appear

LD0409173791 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1205 GMT 4 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Fedor Angeli]

[Text] Tiraspol, 4 Sep (TASS)—After yesterday's meeting between the people's deputies of Tiraspol and Valeriy Muravskiy, the prime minister of Moldova, ways of resolving the serious conflict that has arisen here are starting to appear. The official authorities in Kishinev have placed a condition before the women of Tiraspol who are still blocking the railway line: to stop picketing the tracks, then the law-enforcement bodies will release Igor Smirnov, the arrested chairman of the Dniestr republic, within 24 hours. The authorities then promise that all the other deputies at various levels who have been detained will be released in the course of one or two weeks.

Igor Smirnov wrote a letter to the picketing women about stopping the blockade of the railway lines, calling upon them to stop using extreme forms of economic blockade which are damaging to the entire population of Moldova both on the right and the left bank of the Dniestr, and also to other republics in country. Moldovan deputies informed the demonstrators of this last night.

However, as Vladimir Rylyakov, the deputy chairman of the Tiraspol town Soviet, informed a TASS correspondent, the women do not trust the promises of the Kishinev authorities who are constantly violating human rights. They are appealing to Soviet and world public opinion to support their just struggle. The picketers are firstly demanding the release of Igor Smirnov and all the other deputies under arrest, and only then do they promise to stop their blockade of the railway lines. As known, the Moldovan authorities have agreed to allow a meeting between a delegation of those picketing and Igor Smirnov, and much depends on the result of this meeting.

Gagauz Wants Closer Contacts With Dniestr

LD0509054191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 0430 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Text] The government of the Gagauz republic, which was declared on Moldovan territory in the area densely populated by Turkic-speaking people, addressed the Dniestr government with a proposal to sign a federation treaty, says the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY. According to Ivan Burgudzhi, deputy chairman of the Gagauz Supreme Soviet, Moldova must join this treaty if its government wants to prepare territorial integrity of the whole region. In the meantime, in accordance with a decision of the Gagauz congress of people's deputies, agricultural products which previously were sent to the Republic of Moldova have been redirected to the Dniestr

Republic. In the opinion of some deputies, this must be the first step toward an economic union of the two republics.

Ukraine

Kravchuk Speech to Supreme Soviet Reported

LD0409200291 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service
in English 0000 GMT 4 Sep 91

[From the "Ukraine Today" program]

[Excerpts] We begin with a report from the session of the Ukraine's Supreme Soviet which opened today in Kiev. The first to speak at the session was People's Deputy Stepan Khmara. In particular he said the following:

[Begin Khmara in vernacular fading into English translation] I was always forced to work for the benefit of Ukraine, said Stepan Khmara. I wanted to work in the parliament but I was deprived of such a possibility by the shameful and illegal resolution as of 14 November 1990 by which I was stripped of deputy's immunity: that was I was put behind bars. I lived through humiliation for eight months and I declare that I will enter the session hall only after the session of the Supreme Soviet abrogates its resolution as of 14 November 1990. If it does not do this I will not take part in the work of the Supreme Soviet.

I would also like to take an opportunity to thank all the citizens of Ukraine, the public of the world, state and political figures and public organizations who did not spare their effort so as to achieve my release, said Stepan Khmara.

Then the deputies got down to mapping out the agenda and ordered a number of concrete proposals to that score. [passage omitted]

Also today [3 September] Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Leonid Kravchuk delivered a report on his visit to Moscow and speech at the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR.

[Begin Kravchuk recording in Ukrainian with superimposed English translation] I'd like to recall once again those terrible events which occurred between 19-21 August. I'd like to say that they revealed in full measure all those vital problems of our social development which were somewhat hidden inside.

Firstly I'd like to say that we experienced quite well that the sovereignty of our Republic is not protected. We felt that the structure of the former USSR type is not acceptable for the peoples of our republics. We felt that the text of the Union treaty, which was open for signing, does not correspond to the interests of our republics.

Therefore, the developments in the republics after the defeat of coup d'etat have confirmed that almost all of them have stepped on the road of a new thinking and

that the issues on this matter should be reviewed. [word indistinct] the leaders of the republics which had gathered in Moscow, perhaps for the first time [word indistinct] the following item: To prepare and sign the treaty by the republics which will [word indistinct].

I'd like to express that the time we live through is changing with every day and influences our consciousness. We have felt (?that the standards) of the Armed Forces, which were determined quite clearly in the Union, in the society and in our state, (? what are their) goals and tasks in defending constitutional system of the country? In full measure it also concerns the bodies of the Interior. At the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet we have defined the destiny of the Communist Party's (?socio)-political organizations. One cannot but see that the democratic processes initiated by the [word indistinct] become a reality.

The road we have chosen for consolidating the state sovereignty and independence is the only right way in the social development.

Yesterday I had meetings with the people's deputies of the USSR and almost all of them supported Ukraine's independence and believed that its statehood should triumph and that Ukraine has to act to restore its past, protect its (?people), its economy, its sovereignty.

However, we should remember the following: The center has fallen apart, it doesn't exist any longer. The committee which is functioning cannot fulfill even simple functions, so in order not to be robbed we have not only to declare our stand but to take urgent measures as well.

Now, let me inform you about some happenings taking place Sunday evening and yesterday at the Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow. On Sunday there was a meeting of the leaders of the republics with the president. Personally speaking, I was a bit late and did not take part in the work of those leaders. That is why I was handed over only a draft statement. So I met with the people's deputies of the USSR from Ukraine and we worked [words indistinct] together. Then we introduced those amendments into the statement. It was after another meeting with the President, so I'd like to dwell a bit on some principal aspects of this statement and of my speech at the Congress.

Therefore, our first position is in the fact that at present the center of political life has already shifted to the republics, that the peoples themselves resolve their destiny, their status, their future. That is why in my opinion the Congress should not consider those issues whose significance belongs to the past or to the future and concentrate only on economic problems and on assistance to the republics in building their sovereign states.

Secondly we have said quite clearly that we are ready to participate directly in all interrepublican, interstate structures under the pretext that they will be formed as temporary and only for a transitional period and only by the republics themselves. There should be no question

about revival of the Union bodies because they had proved their complete incapability of doing something during this period. Besides, they had ruined the national economy and brought hardship on the people.

Our (?first stand) is in the fact that the sovereignty has become a reality, the same with independence and we (?wholly back) this independence from anyone, even from the Congress of People's Deputies.

We also spoke clearly about the Armed Forces. Our stand is as follows: There should be created a collective security system for all the republics. We have already taken a decision by the Supreme Soviet Presidium to transfer the interior and border troops to our Republic and decided to form the Ukraine National Guard and Defense Ministry.

As for the strategic military forces, we think they should be united and directed by a coordinating headquarters, let it be general headquarters. But the leadership of the Republic should know about their stationing, replacement and quantity. I mean those troops which are located on the territory of the republics.

We also spoke quite clearly that now the Congress has no need to work on the new Union constitution and asked to take this issue out of the agenda. In my speech, I couldn't but touch upon the issue of the territorial integrity, and the unity of Ukraine's territory and said that all the (?states) should be guided in this issue by the treaties and international legal norms.

As for Ukraine, it has no territorial claims to anybody whatsoever.

After the end of my speech I addressed the states and businessmen to help us and protect economically the young democracy which is not yet so strong. There should be no doubt in one thing: namely that we have chosen our way to the statehood through independence, that we have voted for it and that now we have to implement it into life.

To do this, at our parliament, I call on all of you to join efforts, to be united, tolerant, respectful to each other, to understand the situation which has emerged. [end recording]

Military, Sociopolitical Developments Viewed

*PM0509014791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
5 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1*

[Report by correspondent S. Tsikora under the general headline "From Moscow to the Farthest-Flung Regions People Are Deciding How To Live in the Future": "Ukraine Sets Up Own Army"]

[Text] Kiev—The Ukraine is organizing its own Armed Forces at full speed.

As of 4 September this campaign has entered the tough phase of organization and management. The Ukrainian

Supreme Soviet has appointed the republic's defense minister; he has all the duties to do with the structural development of the Armed Forces. The 47-year-old Major General Konstantin Morozov, who commanded the air army in the Ukraine, has been confirmed as minister. He was born in the Lugansk area; his mother is Ukrainian and his father, Russian. He has ascended all rungs of the military ladder since graduating from the Kharkov fighter pilot school. When asked by deputies whether he is prepared to take off his military uniform and become the first civilian minister of the republic's armed forces, Morozov replied in the affirmative, adding: "If that is the indispensable condition laid down by parliament."

The situation in which the Ukrainian Armed Forces are to be formed is mixed, chaotic, and extremely politicized. At a recent meeting with L. Kravchuk, the commanders of all three military districts and the Black Sea Fleet reacted with understanding to the republic Supreme Soviet resolution transferring military formations stationed on Ukrainian territory to the parliament's jurisdiction. Jurisdiction is one thing and direct or joint control is another. The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet's Defense and State Security Permanent Commission has been inundated with cables from both individual officers and regiments and divisions asking that they be placed under an oath of loyalty to an independent Ukraine and become the core of its new armed forces. There have been instances of servicemen from units stationed in other republics returning to the Ukraine of their own accord.

The Supreme Soviet has taken urgent steps. After appointing the defense minister, the republic's parliament adopted two important documents clarifying its position on military issues. The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet's appeal to servicemen and units stationed on and outside the republic's territory says that the republic's parliament and government "guarantee to observe the rights of all servicemen and members of their families currently granted by USSR legislation on Ukrainian territory" and to prevent the infringement of these rights irrespective of people's national affiliation, language, attitude toward religion, and political convictions; and further—"We guarantee all legal benefits, pensions, and subsidies that servicemen and members of their families previously enjoyed."

This appeal also contains the insistent request that they "not of their own accord leave the places where their troop units are stationed and not allow any other ill-conceived, destabilizing actions." The republic's defense minister said from the session's rostrum that all appeals from officers who previously lived in the Ukraine but are now serving outside it will be considered most attentively.

At the same time the head of the Ukrainian parliament, L. Kravchuk, signed an order boosting social protection for servicemen.

It is noticeable that all Ukrainian presidential candidates include the "military question" in their programs. Elections are scheduled for 1 December and the campaign for support is currently being mounted in the republic. Vyacheslav Chornovil, head of Lvov Oblast Soviet, can be considered one of the most serious candidates registered by the Ukrainian Justice Ministry to date. He was nominated by the Grand Assembly of the Ukrainian People's "Rukh." Twice as many members of the Grand Assembly voted for Chornovil's candidacy as for Levka Lukyanenko, chairman of the Ukrainian Republican Party.

When asked how he sees his chances in the Ukrainian presidential fight, Chornovil said: I believe I have a definite chance. The political situation in the Ukraine has changed. Leonid Kravchuk's monopoly on this post has disappeared under the pressure of recent events. The democratic processes have escaped the Communist Party's pressure and control. Therefore the chances of the democratic forces' candidates have increased considerably.

Crimean Declaration on Sovereignty Passed

LD0509044191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 0100 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Text] Late on Wednesday, after five rounds of voting, a declaration on the sovereignty of the Crimea as part of the Ukraine was passed. The issue of Sevastopol's status became a stumbling block. Leaders of the Supreme Soviet of the Crimean Tatar people stated in an interview with our correspondent Vitaliy Dolgich that they regard this document negatively, just like any other document adopted without their participation, as this deprives them of the right to self-determination.

Independence Declaration Assessed

LD0509105591 Moscow TASS in English
0943 GMT 5 Sep 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Lev Ryabchikov]

[Text] Simferopol September 5 TASS—An extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the Crimean Autonomous Republic has adopted a declaration on its state independence. It confirms that the Crimea is a part of the Ukraine. The document pronounces the Crimea an independent and indivisible autonomous republic.

State power in the republic will consist of separate legislative, executive and judicial arms.

The territory of the Crimean Republic cannot be altered without its consent. Only the people of the Crimea are vested with the right to possess and use the land and its wealth, the air space overhead and the water and natural resources on its territory and on the continental shelf.

The document guarantees equal rights to all citizens of the republic irrespective of their nationality, political convictions or faith.

The session adopted an address to the Ukrainian parliament, saying that the declared independence of the Ukraine as a democratic state was of immense historical importance for the future of the people, the present and the future of the Ukraine. The peoples of the Crimea, the address says, rely on the help and support of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet in their effort to promote the creation of a democratic and law-governed state in the Crimea.

Crimean Tatars Appeal to Congress

LD0209192991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] The National Movement of Crimean Tatars has appealed to the Fifth Extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies demanding that a program for the return of Crimean Tatars be established in the economic agreement of the republics. The appeal points out that the restoration of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic to its 1921 status makes it possible to guarantee the rights of the Crimean Tatar people, the interests of the Russian and Ukrainian population of the Crimea and to harmonize the interests of Russia and the Ukraine. This was reported by RIA [RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY]

Legislative Edict Bans Party Activity

LD0409223691 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] The edict of the Presidium of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet on banning the activity of the Communist Party of Ukraine:

Having examined the conclusions of the temporary commission of the Ukraine's Supreme Soviet Presidium for verification on the activity on the territory of Ukraine of officials, bodies of power and administration, public associations and organizations in connection with the coup d'etat on 19-21 August 1991, according to which the leadership of the Communist Party of Ukraine supported the state coup with its actions, thus assisting to carry it out on the territory of Ukraine, the Presidium of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet enacts:

1. According to part 2 of Article 7, and using Paragraph 6 of Article 106 of the Constitution of the Ukraine as a guide, the activity of the Communist Party of the Ukraine is banned.

2. The Supreme Soviet of the Crimean Autonomous SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and oblast, city, and rayon soviets of people's deputies are to receive on their balance the buildings, structures, printing houses, vehicles, and other property of the corresponding party

committees, with the exception of property of the CPSU Central Committee Directorate for Management of Affairs and the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee, which has already been transferred to the balance of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet.

[Signed] Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet

City of Kiev, 30 August 1991.

Prosecutor Objects to Ban on Communist Party

PM0409085391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Sergey Tsikora report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Prosecutor Takes Issue With Presidium"]

[Text] Kiev—Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk left the extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies and returned urgently to Kiev to brief the republic's Supreme Soviet on the Ukrainian deputation's stance on the former Union.

A surprise awaited L. Kravchuk in Kiev. In his absence a Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium had been held by resolution of which a four-meter sculpture of V.I. Lenin had been removed from the session hall. Ukrainian Prosecutor M. Potebenko's speech on republic television, describing the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium decree banning the activity of the Ukrainian Communist Party as illegal, came as an equal surprise. The prosecutor said that he was under constant pressure from members of the parliament's presidium and raised the question of immediately electing a Ukrainian general prosecutor.

These two factors could not fail to have an impact on the general atmosphere at the fall session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. It opened in a nervous atmosphere with a large crowd outside the parliament chanting "Freedom for the Ukraine" and "Hands Off the Ukraine's Borders." The parliament put off hearing from the republic's leadership what they had done during the time of the putsch in order not to hot up the situation. L. Kravchuk then thoroughly briefed the Supreme Soviet on the stance to which the Ukraine intends to cleave in the new political and economic situation that has taken shape within the Union and the republic.

Communist Group Announces Dissolution

OW0409222991 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1900 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet in Kiev on Wednesday the communist majority in the Ukrainian parliament, the "2B9" Group, announced its own dissolution.

The leader of the majority group, Aleksandr Moroz, declared that on August 19th-21st an elementary battle for power had taken place in Moscow. Nobody wanted to see the break-up of the Union. "This was borne out by the actions of the SEC [State Committee for the State of Emergency] and the presidents of the USSR and of Russia, opposed to the sovereignty of the republics, said Mr. Moroz, in his statement.

According to Moroz, "rank and file Communists and the peoples of the USSR became the hostages of individual people in their struggle for power". Addressing former Communists, he said, "You were betrayed by high-ranking party officials fighting for power. Together they refused to reform the CPSU, they were not interested in the fate of millions of people."

National Flag Raised Over Parliament Building

*OW0409194391 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1645 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday the blue and yellow national flag was raised above the Ukrainian Parliament in Kiev.

Deputies had to vote three times for the decision to be accepted. In the end a compromise solution was found: until the referendum on December 1st, the national flag will fly over the parliament building alongside the state red and blue flag.

The referendum on December 1st will give the people of the Ukraine the opportunity to express their opinion on the Declaration of Independence made by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet in August.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Comments on Situation in Republic

LD0409204391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The dramatic nature of events in Georgia is increasing. Here you see video footage from the past few days.

[Video shows clashes in the streets of Georgia between demonstrators and militiamen and of injured demonstrators being carried from the scene; Eduard Shevardnadze being interviewed by correspondent Tatyana Mitkova]

[Shevardnadze] What concerns me very much with respect to the events both on 9 April and yesterday is why the leaders are absent and why they are not among their voters, even if they represent the opposition.

[Mitkova] What are your predictions for the future? How might these events develop further?

[Shevardnadze] I steadfastly recommend that the government, including the President of Georgia, immediately establish—er, restore a dialogue with the people, including with the opposition, and to carefully analyze what demands are being made and what is legal and illegal and then to convene the Supreme Soviet and, so to speak, seriously debate the current situation. This must be done because yesterday's events could become, could bring about totally unpredictable events, I very much fear.

Gamsakhurdia: Shevardnadze 'Enemy of Georgia'

LD0509124391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1151 GMT 5 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 5 Sep (TASS)—Meetings of the opposition have been continuing in Georgia for the fourth day, demanding the resignation of Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia and new elections to the Supreme Soviet.

In response, the President of Georgia has started a "witch hunt." At his initiative, a document has been published here in which former USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who spoke yesterday to Soviet television about the dangerous development of events in Georgia is declared "an enemy of Georgia" and is accused of "plotting" against the republic. The president's press service reported that Tengiz Sigua, recently retired Georgian prime minister, and Georgiy Khoshtaria, republican foreign minister, are active participants in this "plot", organized by the "Communist mafia." The well-known sculptor, Zurab Tsereteli, is also named among the "plotters." The statement from the

press service of Zviad Gamsakhurdia also announces the start of an investigation into the "plot".

Following in Zviad Gamsakhurdia's footsteps, 'TAVISUPALI SAKARTVELO' ('SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA'), the newspaper of the ruling "Roundtable" political bloc, has declared war on the "Communist mafia." It calls for members of the Communist Party of Georgia, which was banned the other day, to be tried as "traitors of the nation" and fired from their jobs.

The political crisis in Georgia is accompanied by a crisis in the economy. Today, Vissarion Gugushvili, the new prime minister of the republic, issued an instruction banning the export from Georgia of food and industrial goods, building materials, timber, and all forms of raw material. This is a heavy blow to the business activity of small agricultural producers, cooperatives, and enterprises for whom Russia and other republics of the Soviet Union have traditionally been the main marketplace. In the view of local observers, such a ban will cause reciprocal measures by Georgia's northern neighbors. The republic receives all its gas and a large quantity of oil, grain, milk products, meat, vehicles, and cotton from them.

Opposition Urges Gamsakhurdia To Resign

OW0409124691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1125 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Six opposition organizations in Georgia, among them the Popular Front, the Christian Democratic Party and the Free Democrats Union have demanded President Zviad Gamsakhurdia's resignation. They made public a statement blaming the president and government of the republic for the tragic events in the capital Tbilisi on Monday, when clashes between National Democratic Party (NDP) activists and the police resulted in casualties on both sides. The opposition is insisting that early elections be held in Georgia.

Meanwhile, the head of the Georgian parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee Tedo Paatashvili and a group of 40 parliamentarians have issued a statement describing the latest developments as a provocation by the NDP. At the same time, they criticized the government for succumbing to the provocation. The authors demanded that the Georgian Supreme Soviet hold an emergency session to discuss the situation.

Georgia's mission in Moscow censured the use of force by both sides during last Monday's rally in Tbilisi. It urged the formation of an independent commission of republican experts and public activists to investigate the September 2 events and make public the findings.

On Tuesday, the NDP held another rally in Tbilisi to press the demand for President Gamsakhurdia's resignation.

Mr. Valerian Khukhunashvili, press attache of Georgia's mission in Moscow, has resolutely denied to IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent that several people died during the rally. He said "no one dispersed the protesters at all."

Opposition Rally Held, OMON Condemned

PM0509012991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
5 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[Correspondent B. Urigashvili report under general headline "From Moscow To the Farthest-Flung Regions People Are Deciding How To Live in the Future": "Rally in Tbilisi Again"]

[Text] Tbilisi—An opposition rally was held in Tbilisi once again on 3 September at which the speakers sharply condemned the actions taken by the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] and the Georgian leadership to disperse the peaceful demonstration the day before.

They said that using firearms against a peaceful demonstration is inadmissible and contravenes the norms of democracy.

A statement by former commander of the National Guard, T. Kitovani, was then read out, condemning the OMON's actions, urging the guard's Zugdidi battalion to return to barracks, and declaring the guard—a considerable proportion of which are now at field camp on exercises—to remain neutral. I would remind you that Kitovani was dismissed from his command of the guard by order of President Gamsakhurdia, but everything indicates that he does not consider himself dismissed.

The several thousand demonstrators then moved toward the parliament. On the approach roads the convoy was stopped by buses barring the Rustaveli Boulevard thoroughfare.

That same evening a Georgian television news program carried an interview with passersby who condemned the demonstrators' actions. The announcer read out several anonymous collective letters demanding that "the instigators and Kremlin agents playing into the empire's hands be cut off from society."

The Georgian president's press service has issued a statement in connection with recent events in Tbilisi. It says, in particular, that destructive forces within the armed opposition are provoking mass disturbances and armed excesses, thus inciting the republic's population to fratricidal warfare. The Georgian leadership, guaranteeing observance of Georgian citizens' rights and freedoms and resolutely suppressing anticonstitutional actions, will continue to lead the country toward national revival and build a rule-of-law state recognized by the international community.

To provide a full picture I will also mention a statement issued by a group of deputies from the ruling "Round-table" bloc. This statement signed by six deputies, including T. Paataashvili, chairman of the foreign relations commission, says that a proposal was made on their initiative at an extraordinary Supreme Soviet session 26 August for the actions taken by the Georgian Supreme Soviet Presidium 19-21 August to be assessed as unsatisfactory. It points out that the Georgian leadership's hard line fails to take into consideration the global processes taking place in the world and makes it difficult to close the gap between the republic's national interests and those of the entire world community.

At the same time, given the processes taking place in Georgia and the USSR, the form and time of the rally organized by the National Democratic Party were clearly provocative. The rally was held when the collapse of the National Democratic Party's ideology and the bankruptcy of its political forecasts had become clear. Despite this, the statement says, there are no grounds for using armed formations to break up a peaceful rally.

One more point. Some central newspapers have reported that there were casualties when the rally in Tbilisi was broken up on Tuesday. That does not correspond with reality.

Reports on Recent Coup-Related Tbilisi Events

PM0409114791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 91 p 1

[S. Chernykh report: "Georgia: Enemies All Around"; last two paragraphs are "own information" report]

[Text] According to all the laws, there has been a qualitative change in the number of enemies of the Georgian people, of whom Zviad Gamsakhurdia spoke long ago. At first KGB agents and Kremlin hirelings had a certain hypotheticalness, but they have recently acquired names. If the president is to be believed, Nodar Natadze, leader of the parliamentary opposition, is a provocateur. It recently became known from the same source that Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua and Foreign Minister Georgiy Khoshtariya took advantage of Gamsakhurdia's absence from Tbilisi to try to organize a coup. They have both been retired.

The exposure of Moscow Kremlin spies is an invariable subject of all the president's speeches, and the list of them is very long. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA occupies one of the first places on this register, somewhere right after the "traitor and renegade Shevardnadze." In short, their name is legion.

On 2 September the Georgian leadership, suffocating within a circle of enemies, set about breaking out with the help of spetsnaz [special purpose] subunits. The introduction of a platoon of armed men into the events at an ordinary 15,000-strong rally at first caused some confusion. Knowing the Georgian mentality, it is possible to imagine what this appearance led to. Within a

matter of minutes the temperament of the opposing sides exceeded all bounds. Shooting began. Only the timely intervention of Georgiy Chanturiya, chairman of the National Democratic Party, introduced a certain stability.

Parliamentary opposition leader Nodar Natadze, who addressed the rally which took place just the same, said that President Zviad Gamsakhurdia must bear juridical and moral responsibility for what happened. At the end of the rally the opposition members who had been holding it led the assembled people to the television center building, where Natadze and Georgiy Chanturiya demanded to go on the air—which, as was only to be expected, was refused. What is more, Georgian television and radio had ceased their operation. The president addressed the people only after midnight, calling the rally a putsch. "I have been silent for a long time," he said, "but now I will say that the Kremlin provoked all this."

The result of this clash was four injured demonstrators and spetsnaz members beaten with sticks and stones. Georgian television showed shot-through bulletproof vests, although not a single militiaman received bullet wounds. The most unfortunate thing for the Georgian president in this drama is the fact that all the events took place before the eyes of eight U.S. congressmen.

When the Issue Was Being Made Up

It has been learned from competent sources that militia and spetsnaz forces broke up a demonstration in downtown Tbilisi yesterday, at which demands for the resignation of the republic's president were heard. It is reported that people were killed (approximately eight, the data are being verified) and injured.

Z. Gamsakhurdia has declared that an attempted coup was thereby suppressed.

Opposition Supporters Continue Hunger Strike

OW0409224591 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1900 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to reports from Tbilisi, several dozen supporters of the opposition National Democratic Party [NDP] are continuing their hunger strike in the Georgian capital in support of their demands for the resignation of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the dissolution of parliament and the calling of new elections. The hunger strike is in protest against the dispersal by the police of a demonstration organized by the NDP on Monday. There were casualties among both police and demonstrators as a result of the confrontations. The government and the opposition are accusing each other of provoking the situation.

President Gamsakhurdia Issues Several Decrees

Defense Department Created

AU0409123891 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA
in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 1

["Republic of Georgia Presidential Decree on the Creation of the Republic of Georgia State Department for Defense," issued in Tbilisi on 26 August]

[Text] To create the State Department for Defense of the Republic of Georgia that will be subordinated to President of the Republic of Georgia.

The internal troops—National Guard—must be subordinated to the State Department for Defense of the Republic of Georgia.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia.

[Dated] 26 August 1991, Tbilisi.

Guards To Return to Barracks

AU0409123291 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA
in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 1

["Order by President of the Republic of Georgia," issued in Tbilisi on 26 August]

[Text] In view of the fact that the State Department for Defense has been created and will be subordinated to the president to whom the National Guard is directly subordinated, I order as follows:

1. To abolish the status of the guard as a detachment of the special-purpose militia.
2. As of today, all the guards present in the Rkoni Gorge must return to their barracks in rayons and towns.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia.

[Dated] 26 August 1991, Tbilisi.

Communist Party Acts Stopped

AU0409124291 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA
in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 1

["Republic of Georgia Presidential Decree on the Communist Party of Georgia," issued in Tbilisi on 26 August]

[Text] During the days of the communist putsch in the Soviet Union, from 19 to 21 August 1991, the Communist Party of Georgia supported the so-called State of Emergency Committee. Moreover, its existence is at variance with the Republic of Georgia Law on Political Associations of Citizens.

Proceeding from this, I resolve as follows:

To suspend the activity of the Communist Party of Georgia throughout the territory of Georgia.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia.

[Dated] 26 August 1991, Tbilisi.

Supreme Court Bans Communist Party

AU0409092691 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA
in Russian 28 Aug 91 pp 1, 3

[“Decision in the Name of the Republic of Georgia” on banning the Communist Party of Georgia and rider, issued in Tbilisi on 26 August]

[Text] The judiciary board of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Georgia composed of Givi Bakhtadze, chairman; Nunu Machaidze and David Beriashvili, assessors; in the presence of Zaur Tvaliashvili, secretary; and with the participation of Roland Giligashvili, deputy Procurator General of the Republic of Georgia has discussed, at an open session of the court in Tbilisi, the case regarding the statement by the Republic of Georgia Procurator General on banning the Communist Party of Georgia.

In accordance with Article 174 of the Civil Procedural Code of the Republic of Georgia, explanations on the matter were given to the judiciary board by Roland Giligashvili, deputy procurator general of the Republic of Georgia, and by the following persons taken to court as an interested party: Dzhemal Mikeladze, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party; Otar Ioseliani, editor of the newspaper TSKHOVREBA, organ of the Georgian Communist Party; Karlo Gudzhbidze, secretary of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party; Mikhail Gvatua, head of department for ideological work of the same party; and Zurab Erkvania, deputy head of the department for organizational work.

The judiciary board studied the materials of the coup d'etat, organized on 19 August 1991 within the leadership of the USSR, the reaction to it in Georgia, in the USSR, and in other states, the world public opinion, as well as the attitude of the Communist Party of Georgia and of its printed organ to this coup and analyzed them.

In view of the fact that the organs of justice in the Republic of Georgia have been depoliticized and that, in accordance with Article 167 of the Constitution of the Republic of Georgia, the court in Georgia is only subordinated to law, the judiciary board proceeds in its decision exclusively from objectively confirmed facts.

At the same time, guided by Article 55 of the Civil Procedural Code of the Republic of Georgia, according to which those facts, which the court finds to be generally known, do not have to be proved, the judiciary board considers it to be established that:

1. The organization that called itself the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has for many years been an organization that has forcefully established its domination over millions of people.

As a consequence of the CPSU domination and establishment of its ideology, the peoples within the USSR were compelled to turn off the road of the development of world civilization and found themselves confronted with a real threat of spiritual degeneration.

2. Within the USSR republics, the CPSU pursued its policy with the help of its local organs—republican communist parties.

3. The communist parties of republics, while calling themselves parties, were, in reality, structural subdivisions of the CPSU and not parties;

4. The unconditional subordination of the republican communist parties to the CPSU was accomplished through the agency of democratic centralism adopted by the CPSU program and statutes. This principle ruled out completely even the slightest deviation of the republican communist parties from the CPSU line.

5. The Communist Party of Georgia was always one of the principal subdivisions of the CPSU; it aspired and actually strived to be at the vanguard of the CPSU activity.

6. In the process of the so-called “perestroika,” the CPSU and its local republican organ—the Communist Party of Georgia—with the purpose of maintaining power under new conditions (something that made it necessary for them to deceive the people once again), resorted to camouflage—a new method for self-preservation. In particular, the Communist Party of Georgia declared its separation from the CPSU and proclaimed itself an independent communist party.

Believing that the coup accomplished in Moscow and the support for this coup created conditions for bringing the Communist Party of Georgia back to power and, at the same time, realizing that this may become possible through an immediate demonstration of its connection with the reactionary forces of the “center,” the Communist Party of Georgia, which removed from its name, as superfluous, the reference to its independence, carried in its organ TSKHOVREBA on 21 August 1991 a communication in which it called upon the Georgian people to submit to reactionary forces and, at the same time, offered its loyalty and services to these reactionary forces hostile to the Georgian people.

The judiciary board particularly points out the striving of some leaders of the Georgian Communist Party to have their devotion to the external forces personified. In particular, O. Ioseliani, editor of the newspaper TSKHOVREBA, specially signed his name under that issue of the newspaper in which this communication was published.

By all these deeds, the Communist Party of Georgia has opposed the Constitution and the requirements of Paragraphs 1 and 10 of the Republic of Georgia Law on

Political Associations of Citizens and to the vital interests of the Republic of Georgia and of the Georgian people and thereby has lost its right to exist in the form of a party.

By virtue of the above, the judiciary board of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Georgia has

RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS [capitals as published]

1. To ban the Communist Party of Georgia and to put an end to its existence and activity as an organization.

2. Taking into account the fact that the coup undertaken in the USSR capital was also objectively directed against Georgian state independence and territorial inviolability and had the character of conspiracy with the purpose of seizing power, and the fact that, under these conditions, in the process of organizing the publication of the communication in the newspaper TSKHOVREBA of the Communist Party of Georgia, signs of a criminal forgery became obvious, the judiciary board, based on Articles 108 and 112 of the Criminal Procedural Code, is passing a rider.

3. To raise the question on nationalizing the property of the Georgian Communist Party before the Supreme Council of the Republic of Georgia.

The decision is final and is not subject to appeal.

G. Bakhtadze, chairman; N. Machaidze and D. Beriashvili, assessors.
26 August 1991.

RIDER

The judiciary board of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Georgia composed of Givi Bakhtadze, chairman; Nunu Machaidze and David Beriashvili, assessors; in the presence of Zaur Tvaliashvili, secretary; and with the participation of Roland Giligashvili, deputy Procurator General of the Republic of Georgia discussed at an open court session in Tbilisi the case regarding the statement by the Procurator General of the Republic of Georgia on banning the Communist Party of the Republic of Georgia and, alongside its decision, passes the following rider:

It transpires from an analysis of the explanations given by the following persons taken to court as an interested party: Dzh. Mikeladze, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia; K. Gudzhabidze, secretary; M. Gvatua, head of department; Z. Erkvania, deputy head of department; and O. Ioseliani, editor of the newspaper TSKHOVREBA that the process of publishing in this newspaper's issue of 21 August 1991 and of preparing the communication on the meeting of the bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia bears signs of an official forgery, something that needs to be verified.

By virtue of the above and guided by Article 233 of the Civil Procedural Code of the Republic of Georgia, the

judiciary board has **RESOLVED** to forward the above rider to the Procuracy of the Republic of Georgia for consideration.

G. Bakhtadze, chairman; N. Machaidze and D. Beriashvili, assessors.
26 August 1991.

Ukraine Congratulated on Independence Declaration

*AU0409121891 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA
in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 1*

[Congratulatory letter "To the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic" from President Zviad Gamsakhurdia and from the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council," issued in Tbilisi on 26 August]

[Text] Esteemed deputies:

The Supreme Council of the Republic of Georgia congratulates the Ukrainian people on the adoption by the Ukrainian parliament of the Declaration of Independence. This act confirms once again the striving of the Ukrainian people for freedom and democracy. We express a hope that, in the near future, diplomatic relations will be established between the two sovereign states—Georgia and the Ukraine—and that this will further strengthen the traditional friendship between our peoples.

President of the Republic of Georgia,
Supreme Council of the Republic of Georgia.
26 August 1991, Tbilisi.

Abkhazian Communists' Statement Supporting Coup

*AU0409122591 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA
in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 1*

["Statement by the Abkhazian Republican Communist Party Committee"; place and date not given]

[Text] The Abkhazian Republican Communist Party Committee declares its decisive support for the actions and measures being taken in the USSR by the State of Emergency Committee with the purpose of stabilizing the political, social, and economic situation in the country and extricating it from the crisis situation. At this difficult time, the Republican Party Committee calls upon communists and all the working people of the republic to show high awareness, balance, and responsibility and to do everything in order to promote the implementation of all the decisions adopted by the State Committee on the State of Emergency for the sake of maintaining the unity and well-being of our great motherland and of all the peoples residing in it.

We express our firm conviction that the entire multinational population of Abkhazia will perceive the events correctly and will show a deep understanding of the fact that the emergency measures being adopted by the leadership of the committee will contribute to establishing civic peace and national accord in the republic.

and will promote its achievement of new heights of socioeconomic, cultural, and national progress.

The Abkhazian Republican Communist Party Committee.

Popular Front Issues Statement on Attempted Coup

AU0309123191 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA
in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 3

["Statement by the Popular Front of Georgia on the 19 August 1991 Events in Moscow and on the Position of the Republic of Georgia Regarding These Events," published in Georgia on 20 August]

[Text] The Popular Front of Georgia believes that the change of power in the Soviet Union that took place on 19 August 1991 in Moscow is a right-wing coup d'etat aimed at the restoration of the Soviet Union as a unitary state. In view of the fact that the political group that seized power considers Georgia to be one of the Soviet Union's republics and assumes that the group's power also extends to Georgia, the process under way in Moscow is a matter of concern for our country—Georgia—and is an attempt to infringe upon our interests. The right and the duty of the authorities in Georgia and of its citizens and political organizations are to clearly specify their positions regarding this coup. Proceeding from the aforementioned, the governing body—*Darbazi* [the Georgian historical word originally meaning "supreme consultative organ in the feudal Georgian courts"]—of the Popular Front of Georgia that met on 20 August 1991 at 0900 GMT states as follows:

1. The Popular Front of Georgia believes that the right-wing coup that took place in Moscow was to be expected because an attempt at establishing a military-political dictatorship is one of the necessary stages that an empire must go through in the process of its disintegration. At the same time, in view of the reaction of the Russian population and political forces to this coup, the Popular Front of Georgia is convinced that the coup will be short-lived and will end in the defeat of its organizers.

2. The Popular Front of Georgia believes that the most essential thing for Georgia in the present situation is to avoid the creation of any legal documents that might weaken its position in the struggle for liberation from the Soviet empire and to create all documents that are necessary for strengthening its positions in this struggle. At the same time, Georgian authorities, political organizations, and citizens must do everything they can to avoid possible bloodshed that may result from the action by the Soviet Armed Forces. In particular, we find it essential to see to it that

a) neither the authorities nor the citizens of Georgia should in any way collaborate with the organs of unitary power that have established themselves today in Moscow. The Georgian parliament must disobey the demand to dissolve itself or to suspend its work; ordinary militiamen or militia officers must not obey the

demand that their weapons be handed over or that they abandon their posts; the citizens must defy the demand to join the ranks of the Soviet Army, and so on. At the same time, both the authorities and the citizens of Georgia must do their best to avoid the emergence of a conflict situation or a direct confrontation with the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union;

b) in view of the fact that the politicians who have perpetrated the coup d'etat in the Soviet Union are trying to impose the supremacy of the USSR Constitution upon the republics, including Georgia, the Georgian parliament must declare in a new and a more precise formulation that Georgian laws are the only ones that are effective in Georgia and that any attempt to impose upon it the supremacy of the laws of another country are an infringement upon Georgian sovereignty;

c) the enterprises in Georgia must work in accordance with the interests of overcoming the economic crisis in Georgia. Our support for the democratic forces of the Soviet Union and our sympathy for them do not require our participation in their strikes, which express their protest against military dictatorship, because these strikes constitute the struggle within another country. We must resort to strikes only in those cases and only on those facilities where anti-Georgian and antistate actions by the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union on our territory are involved.

3. The population of Georgia must maintain calm, to which it has been called upon in the appeal by the president and by the Presidium of the Georgian Supreme Council issued on 19 August 1991. The Georgian parliament must hold a continuous extraordinary session to be ready to repel a juridical or any other kind of attack on the part of the adversary. The Georgian parliament must remember its duty to do everything it can to take upon itself the entire burden of the juridical and political defense of Georgia, without shifting this burden in any way upon the people. The parliament of Georgia can do this, because the present complication is, in fact, a political one and needs to be resolved by political methods. So far, this complication concerns only the Georgian legal interests, and the defense thereof is precisely the function of the parliament. In the event the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union conceive a design to dissolve the parliament or to suspend its activity, the parliament must not retreat by even one step. The parliament is able to take such steps, and it must declare to the people that it does not need anybody's help to do so.

The parliament, which embodies the rights and the honor of Georgia, must rise to their defense. It will be able to defend them as was repeatedly done by the rulers of the destinies of Georgia throughout our past history. Nothing and nobody are able to infringe upon the rights and honor of Georgia, unless its parliament takes a step toward retreat.

4. The Popular Front of Georgia takes the liberty of reminding the democratic public and the leaders of democratic states that if peoples and governments of the world wish to nip in the bud any future possibility of military or political coups in the region presently constituting the Soviet Union, the democratic countries of the world must recognize the republics that have declared their independence and must promote their entry into the United Nations Organization.

5. The Supreme Council of Georgia must adopt a resolution to the effect that, as shown by facts, further presence of the Soviet Army on the territory of Georgia is incompatible with either Georgian sovereignty or with the safety of its population. The Supreme Council of Georgia must create a special commission for holding negotiations with the authorities of the Soviet Union, a commission that will specify the following issues:

- a) the legal status of the Soviet Army over the period of its presence in Georgia;
- b) the time limits of the presence of the Soviet Army in Georgia;
- c) the schedule of the presence of the Soviet Army in Georgia, including the order of its deployment and redeployment;
- d) the size of the payment by the Soviet Army for the right to use the territory of Georgia and the procedure of the payment.

The Popular Front of Georgia expresses its solidarity with the democratic forces of the Soviet Union in their difficult struggle against the dictatorship and totalitarianism and wishes them a fundamental victory in this sacred struggle.

N. Natadze, chairman; and M. Tsanava, secretary.
20 August 1991, Georgia.

Armenia

Representative Views Issues With Envoys to U.S.

NC0409190591 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] Yerevan, 3 Sep (ARMENPRES)—Aleksandr Arzumanyan, representative of the Armenian Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers, on 28 and 29 August in Washington met with the ambassadors of Sweden, Finland, Cyprus, Greece, and Czechoslovakia to the U.S. and with high-ranking embassy officials from Poland, Hungary, Germany, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, the Netherlands, Iceland, and Bulgaria, as well as with the director in charge of USSR affairs in the U.S. State Department.

During the meetings they discussed the recent USSR developments and steps being taken with Armenia's

participation in international organizations, especially in European Security and Cooperation Council circles, and matters of mutual interest.

U.S. Congresswoman Visits To View Human Rights

NC0409191691 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] Yerevan, 3 Sep (ARMENPRES)—U.S. Congresswoman Barbara Boxer, who visited Moscow to find out how human rights are being addressed in various regions of the USSR, especially in Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast], arrived in Yerevan with her spouse on 1 September. David Leopold, renowned lawyer and supporter of human rights; Vahagn Petrosyan, member of the Armenian Cause Committee in western America; and American reporters are accompanying Mrs. Boxer.

After briefing reporters on the objective of her visit to the Soviet Union, Representative Boxer said that support for human rights is the main principle in America's domestic and foreign policies. Before her arrival in Yerevan, Mrs. Boxer met with Yelena Bonner, distinguished Soviet human rights advocate.

On the same day, Barbara Boxer and her delegation visited the disaster zone and went to Kirovakan, where they saw the results of international assistance in reconstructing quake-stricken residential areas.

The American politicians met with almost 500 deported families in Kirovakan. Those deported from Sumgait, Baku, and Kirovabad and the released hostages briefed the guests on what happened to them and answered the questions from Mrs. Boxer and Leopold.

On 2 September the American politicians divided into two groups and visited Shaumyanovskiy and the republic's border areas. On the same day, the U.S. Congress member and her [words indistinct].

Procurator Reveals Documents on Coup Plotters

LD0409103591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0100 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Report by correspondent Koryuna Khumaryan]

[Excerpts] The procurator of the Republic of Armenia has sent information and materials that he has to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Procuracy on the illegal actions by USSR internal troops on the territory of Armenia and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKA0]. In the opinion of the Armenian Procuracy, these materials could shed light on the criminal activity of some members of the State Committee on the State of Emergency who not only encouraged but actually directed the illegal actions of troops in the area.

The documents that have been sent deal only with the events at the end of April to the middle of May this year, when there was literally a legal void in the border areas of

Armenia, the NKAO, and the Shaumyanovskiy rayon. The checking of identity documents turned into murder, robbery, and forced deportation. Searches for so-called fighters and arms were specially transformed into the destruction of peaceful villages and the seizure of hostages. During that time more than 20 completely innocent people (?were killed) and more than 100 kidnapped in the border areas of Armenia.

Mikhail Vakhtangovich Grigoryan, first deputy procurator of Armenia, told me that according to the materials of the preliminary investigation carried out by republican and some rayon procuracies of Armenia, the corpus delicti under various articles is being examined not only regarding those who actually carried out the acts, but also those who organized and inspired them: Former Internal Affairs Minister Pugo; former KGB Chairman Kryuchkov; former Defense Minister Yazov, and also generals and other senior officers subordinate to him.

Incidentally, in a telephone conversation with Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan, two days before his inglorious death, Pugo threatened to raze to the ground the unsubdued Armenian village of Artek, and other villages which do not want to submit to their situation as slaves.

The legal void they have unleashed in Karabakh continues to this day. [passage omitted] As the deputy procurator of the republic said, the bodies of law and order intend to return to the events of 1988, 1989, and 1990, and particularly to the seizure of the Zvartnots Airport in Yerevan by troops, the first act of violence by troops in the years of perestroika against the peaceful population, as a result of which one civilian was killed and many injured.

Azerbaijan

Front Calls For General Strike, Boycott of Vote

NC0409141691 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri
1700 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Those who attended the Azerbaijan Popular Front's meeting in Azadlyg Square in Baku on 1 September called on the workers of the republic's establishments, organizations, and administrations to stage a

general strike starting 3 September. Isay Mamedov and Iskender Khalilov, people's deputies and members of the Azerbaijan Popular Front Assembly, addressed the meeting. Calls were made for boycotting the republic's 8 September presidential elections, dissolving the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, holding parliamentary elections according to the multiparty system, and dissolving the Azerbaijan Communist Party and nationalizing its property.

The speakers also called on workers in food supply and social services establishments not to participate in the general strike [words indistinct]. An action committee headed by Iskender Khalilov was established during the meeting. Khalilov said the committee does not aim at blockading any neighboring republics, but at resolving Azerbaijan's internal problems.

Aliyev Elected Head of Nakhichevan's Parliament

OW0409130791 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1125 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Geydar Aliyev, ex-member of the CPSU CC Politburo and ex-leader of the Azerbaijani Communist Party, has been elected President of the Supreme Medjlis (parliament) of Nakhichevan, an autonomous republic within Azerbaijan. IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent reports that Mr. Aliyev, 68, was unanimously elected by the extraordinary session of Nakhichevan's supreme legislature that resumed on Tuesday night.

The Medjlis also voted for not holding the election of President of Azerbaijan on Nakhichevani territory as planned on September 8.

According to IF's correspondent, before the session resumed its work yesterday, some 20,000 people came to the Medjlis building to demand Geydar Aliyev's election to the post of head of parliament.

Kazakhstan

'Bewilderment' Over Russian Statement Noted

PM0409145791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 30 Aug 91 Second Edition p 1

[TASS correspondent V. Troyanovskiy report: "What Is Happening in Kazakhstan?"]

[Text] Moscow—As has already been reported, a delegation of Russian parliamentarians headed by RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Vice President A. Rutskoy has flown out to Alma-Ata.

What is happening in the Kazakh Republic and what has caused the complex situation? Your TASS correspondent asked Valeriy Temirbayev, Kazakh permanent representative in Moscow, to answer this question.

"The well-known statement by the RSFSR president's press secretary concerning the territorial question has evoked contradictory responses in the republic," the permanent representative said. "These words do not tie in with the treaty signed last year between Russia and Kazakhstan, which was ratified by the republic Supreme Soviet.

"Telegrams addressed to the president of Kazakhstan, in which the republic's inhabitants express their bewilderment at the Russian leadership's position, are coming into our office. The republic's citizens are stating this at rallies and meetings."

Today President N. Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan sent corresponding telegrams to the country's president, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Russian parliament. They express alarm concerning the aforesaid statement.

Agreement With Russia on 'Subordination' of Army

PM0509092391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 31 Aug 91 First Edition p 3

[Colonel A. Ladin report: "Kazakhstan-Russia: No Territorial Claims"]

[Text] In the afternoon of 30 August a communique was signed on the results of talks between Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] delegations.

The document contains fundamentally new elements. For example, mutual agreement has been reached on defining a procedure for dual subordination of the USSR Armed Forces on sovereign states' territory.

To my question how this "dual" subordination of the Armed Forces should be understood and whether it affects units armed with nuclear weapons, N. Nazarbayev and A. Rutskoy replied that subunits with nuclear weapons are also subject to dual subordination. He noted that the republic does not intend to create its

own armed forces. Only the internal troops and the KGB and MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] organs will be subordinated to it.

A. Rutskoy spoke out against dismembering the Army along regional lines. As far as nuclear forces are concerned, the Russian vice president believes that they should be subordinate to a central control organ.

As for conventional weapons, the Russian vice president unequivocally recognized the necessity of dual subordination.

Contacts With Foreign Nations Promoted

OW0409191891 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1645 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday, President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan met with the German, Bulgarian and Mexican ambassadors in Kazakhstan's permanent mission in Moscow.

He expressed confidence in the conclusion of an economic treaty by various Soviet republics at an early date but observed that "real-term sovereignty makes it possible for the republics to begin already today to discuss in most specific terms the establishment of direct intergovernmental and business contacts." Kazakhstan, according to its president, "is ready to cooperate with any country of the world community."

Kyrgyzstan

President Urges No 'Ideological Extremism'

LD0409180591 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1725 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Bishkek, 4 Sep (KYRGYZTAG-TASS)—Kyrgyzstan President Askar Akayev issued a statement today, in which he stresses that for his part, "necessary measures will be taken to prevent any arbitrariness in relation to CPSU members."

"All people of a democratic mind should join forces to prevent the rise in one of the most dangerous phenomenon—ideological extremism," noted Askar Akayev.

Akayev considers that an overwhelming majority of communists cannot be held responsible for the actions and policy of the highest party and bureaucratic leadership of the CPSU and the Communist Party of Kyrgyzstan.

"Everyone, regardless of which party they belong to, is a citizen of the republic with full rights, including the right to the defense of his honor and worth, and guarantees of all his rights," emphasized Askar Akayev.